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BARBARA FRIETSCHIE

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In October, 1863, the *Atlantic Monthly* published Whittier's ballad, " Barbara Frietchie." Almost immediately a controversy arose about the truth of the poet's version of the story. As the years passed, the controversy became more involved until every period and phase of the heroine's life were included. This paper attempts to separate fact from fiction, and to study the growth of the legend concerning the life of Mrs. John Casper Frietschie, née Barbara Hauer, known to the world as Barbara Fritchie.

I. THE HEROINE AND HER FAMILY

On September 30, 1754, the ship *Neptune* arrived in Philadelphia with its cargo of " 400 souls," among them Johann Niklaus Hauer. The immigrants, who came from the " Palatinate, Darmstad and Zweybrecht " [1] went to the Court House, where they took the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, Hauer being among those sufficiently literate to sign his name, instead of making his mark.[2]

Niklaus Hauer and his wife, Catherine, came from the Palatinate.[3] The only source for his birthplace is the family Bible, in which it is noted that he was born on August 6, 1733, in " Germany in Nassau-Saarbrücken, Dildendorf." [4] This probably

[1] Hesse-Darmstadt, and Zweibrücken in the Rhenish Palatinate.

[2] Ralph Beaver Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Morristown, Penna.), I (1934), 620, 622, 625; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IV (Harrisburg, 1851), 306-7; see Appendix I.

[3] T. J. C. Williams and Folger McKinsey, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, Md., 1910), II, 1047. Information apparently supplied by a grandson, Nicholas Hauer (1817-1912). See App. III.

[4] This Bible is now in the " Barbara Frietchie House," Frederick. See App. II.

was the village of Dillendorf [5] near Simmern, about thirty kilometers west of Bingen and fifty kilometers south-west of Coblentz, between the Rhine and the Moselle. In the middle of the eighteenth century this region was part of the principality of Nassau-Saarbrücken.[6] We know nothing about Hauer's wife except her Christian name. Her maiden name may have been Ziegler.[7] It has been assumed that they came to this country as a married couple,[8] but the ship's record lists only adult males, with no mention of their wives, and there is no record of their marriage.[9]

Niklaus Hauer is said to have gone to Frederick, Maryland, and to have moved later to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but there is no evidence to support this.[10] We know little of his stay in Lancaster, except that while there, he and his wife had four children, Catherine, born October 16, 1760; Jacob, born March 12, 1762; Maria, born March 6, 1765; and Barbara, born December 3, 1766.[11] The Hauers had three other sons, Daniel, Henry and George, and another daughter, Margaret, all born in Frederick.[12]

The family moved to Frederick at an unknown date, between 1766, when Barbara was born, and March, 1775, when their son George was born in Frederick.[13] When Barbara died in 1862, her obituary said she had " removed to this city as a child." [14] She was confirmed in Frederick in 1782.[15] In 1782, Nicholas Hauer, and a Daniel Hauer, probably his brother, purchased land in Frederick from the estate of Daniel Dulany, Nicholas having

[5] Ritter, *Geographisch-Statistisches Lexikon*, I (A-K), (Leipzig, 1910), p. 570.
[6] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed. (New York, 1929), XIX, 784.
[7] The name is preserved by tradition as Catherine Zealer or Zeiler. See Eleanor Abbott, *A Sketch of Barbara Fritchie, Whittier's Heroine*, 3d ed. (Frederick, 1937), p. 7, and App. III.
[8] Williams and McKinsey, *loc. cit.*
[9] The staff of the Pennsylvania Historical Society kindly examined their marriage records and their lists of indentured servants, but were unable to find the Hauer family on any of the lists.
[10] Williams and McKinsey, loc. cit..
[11] MS Baptismal Records of the First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Penna., II. Barbara's birth is recorded on p. 56. This information, together with all other material from the archives of this church, has been communicated to us by Miss Elizabeth Kieffer, a librarian of Franklin and Marshall College and archivist of the church.
[12] See App. III.
[13] MS Records of the German Reformed Church, Frederick (Transcription, Maryland Historical Society), I, 128. They were probably already living there in 1773, date of the Ziegler baptism. See App. III.
[14] Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, Dec. 27, 1862.
[15] MS Records G. R. Ch., Fred., III, 1037.

paid £ 5-7-9 for " lot 344." [16] In 1788, we find him established as a hatter, a trade carried on after him by his son and grandson.[17] The census shows Nicholas and Daniel Hauer [18] to have been residents in Frederick in 1790, each with large families.[19] Nicholas died on December 11, 1799,[20] supposedly while visiting one of his daughters in Kentucky.

There is no reliable information about Barbara Hauer from her confirmation in 1782 until her marriage, on May 18, 1806, to John Casper Frietschie.[21] Her husband had been born in 1780 [22] and was thus fourteen years younger than his bride, who was only nine years younger than the groom's mother. His parents were Casper and Susanna Weishaaren Frietschie, concerning whose early life nothing is known. They had been married in Frederick on September 17, 1772, the bride being only fifteen years of age.[23] They had children bapitized in the Lutheran Church in 1775, 1776, 1778 and 1780.[24] The marriage of Barbara Hauer, who was almost forty, to the youngest son of this Lutheran family, has never attracted much attention. It appears, however, that the Frietschie family had been involved in a treason scandal some years before Barbara's marriage, and this fact, combined with the youth of the groom, who was twenty-six, may have had some influence on Barbara's emotional life in later years.

In 1781, shortly after the birth of this son, Casper Frietschie became involved in a loyalist plot.[25] On June 9, 1781, a number

[16] See App. III.

[17] Mr. Parsons Newman, attorney-at-law, Frederick, owns a bill for hatter's supplies made out to Nicholas Hauer, dated 1788.

[18] Daniel Hauer came to Philadelphia from " Lothringen " in 1770, and settled in Frederick the following year. He gave this information to Jacob Engelbrecht in 1827, who recorded it in his diary on July 6, 1827. We were permitted to examine this extremely interesting diary through the kindness of its present owner, grandson and namesake of the original Engelbrecht.

[19] Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*: Maryland (Washington, 1901), p. 67. The family of " Nicholas Hower " included six free adult males, four free females, and two slaves.

[20] MS Records G. R. Ch., Fred., I, 343. See App. III.

[21] *Ibid.*, III, 1128; see App. II. This spelling of the name has been adopted as the form closest to the original, but none of the many variations used by members of the family appears to have been consistently followed.

[22] MS Records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frederick (transcription, Maryland Historical Society), II, 679. The date is given as January 25, 1780. The inscription on his tombstone gave his age as sixty-nine on November 10, 1849.

[23] She was confirmed the following year in the Lutheran Church at the age of sixteen. *Ibid.*, 199, 376.

[24] *Ibid.*, II, 635, 636, 665, 679.

[25] *Archives of Maryland*, XLV (Baltimore, 1927), 467, 469; XLVII (1930), 297, 328-330. He was arrested, family tradition says, because he had repaired

of warrants were issued, but were not served immediately, since more information was being sought by an officer who was pretending to be in the plot. A law was being rushed through at Annapolis "for the trial of spies," which would include "such as join the enemy." A special court was held in Frederick, after efforts to transfer the case to Hagerstown to avoid demonstrations on behalf of the prisoners, of whom there were one hundred in the Frederick jail on June 21. The plot seems to have been a scheme to persuade people not to oppose the British army, to help the British with provisions, wagons, and horses, and to cooperate with the British fleet, which was to send help to them at Georgetown. Orendorf, the officer who posed as a plotter, testified that Casper Frietschie was the commanding officer of the group, and that he had told Orendorf that he had been chosen because of his long residence in New York.[26] Another witness said that Frietschie held the rank of colonel. There is no record of the testimony of any of the accused. The *Maryland Journal*[27] gives the only contemporary record of the sentence which we have been able to find. After several of the conspirators were pardoned, Casper Frietschie, Yost Blecker and Peter Sueman were hanged, drawn and quartered on August 17, 1781. There is reason to believe that some of the Frietschie children were taken into the Hauer home[28] and if so, Barbara's future husband may have been brought up by her family. A receipt dated 1809 recently came to light,[29] containing the signature of John Casper Frietschie as clerk in the general store on Patrick street in Frederick owned by the Mantz family. The Quynn family also held an interest in this store and later owned it entirely. Some of Barbara's family married into these two families. The responsibility which the

saddles for British soldiers. He was immediately sentenced and shot the following morning, although his wife had ridden all night in an effort to have the execution stayed, and had arrived with a reprieve from General Washington a few minutes too late. The records show that the arrest, trial, and execution covered a period of over two months, and that there was a deliberate delay, rather than haste. Frietschie was a traitor only because a retroactive law, passed for that purpose, classified him as such. The only dishonorable act we have been able to find was his becoming an "Associator" of the Committee of Observation of the middle district of Frederick in 1775-6, despite his "Loyalism," and he was probably forced to do this in self-defense. (See "Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick Co., Maryland," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XI (1916), 166.

[26] We have found no evidence of his sojourn in New York.

[27] Baltimore, Tuesday, August 28, 1781.

[28] Caroline Wells Dall, *Barbara Frietchie* (New York, 1892), p. 28-9. The Hauers were neighbors of the Frietschies. See App. III.

[29] Now owned by the writers.

Hauers are said to have assumed for the Frietschie children may have been shared by their relatives. John Casper Frietschie later went into the leather business in partnership with Henry Handschuh. They were established in Frietschie's house on Patrick street.

The history of Barbara Hauer Frietschie is an uneventful one, unless we accept the decidedly questionable stories connected with her girlhood. These are considered here only because of their firm establishment as part of the Barbara Frietschie legend.[30] Nothing at all is known of Barbara as a girl and there is not a shred of proof of the extremely unlikely rumors of her education in a Baltimore finishing school and of her charm and place in Frederick society. Dr. Walter Steiner, son of one of Barbara's old friends, says that his father had thought her "to be a very ignorant German woman" and that he had been greatly surprised to discover that she could write her name on a document which he had prepared for her signature by making her mark.[31]

Two stories have been widely accepted. One relates that in June, 1791, Barbara was at an afternoon quilting party at Kimball's Tavern, when George Washington arrived. The young ladies prepared to entertain the distinguished guest, bringing out the best linen and china. "There was nothing quite suitable from which to serve coffee" so Barbara went home and got her "Staffordshire coffee pot, which her parents brought from Germany in 1754." Washington was so pleased with her "charm of manner" that he produced a Lowestoft china bowl from his bag and presented it to her.[32] The only tangible evidence is the coffee-pot, which does not lend plausibility to the tale.

According to the editor of Washington's *Diary*, the President spent the night of June 30, 1791 in Frederick, stopping at Brother's Tavern,[33] and not at the Kimball's Tavern of the legend. Washington recorded that he had arrived at sundown, having dined elsewhere. He mentioned no entertainment of any kind, and seems to have seen no one, for he spoke of an address *sent* him by the people of Frederick,[34] to which he replied in writing after

[30] These stories are repeated by Eleanor Abbott, *Sketch* . . . , p. 8-9.
[31] Walter R. Steiner, "The Story of Barbara Fritchie," reprinted from *Proceedings of the Charaka Club*, X (Hartford, Conn. 1941), p. 5.
[32] Abbott, 8-9.
[33] John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Diaries of George Washington* (Boston and New York, 1925), IV, 201.
[34] The address is among the Washington papers in the Library of Congress.

he left. Eighteenth century etiquette could hardly have sanctioned the entertainment, in the evening, at an inn, of any man of national importance, much less the President of the United States, by an unmarried woman of twenty-four, even if the local celebrity worshippers had been willing to concede such a privilege as a reward for her concealment of a deplorable lack of coffee-pots in the town hostelry. They, it will be remembered, had to be content with writing and sending an address. Nor is it likely that Washington encumbered his baggage with china bowls for presentation to attractive young women. The Staffordshire coffee-pot, although appreciated today for its quaintness, was not of the luxury type of china of that day, but of ordinary pottery of a kind made for the colonial trade. There is little possibility that it had ever been in Germany, for English ware was not ordinarily exported to Germany in the eighteenth century. It might have been purchased in England during the stopover there, but both the possible dates, and what we know of the conditions of immigration make this unlikely. At least one expert [35] is convinced that the coffee-pot could not have been made earlier than the first quarter of the nineteenth century, ten to thirty years after Washington's visit.

The other tale concerns the memorial services held after Washington's death, on February 22, 1800. In Frederick the procession followed the general plan of a military funeral,—troops, a draped horse with empty saddle, etc., but with the addition of " sixteen young ladies dressed in mourning, representing the sixteen states of the Union." [36] We have found no contemporary account of this ceremony, but the secondary accounts agree, and in no case do they list any of the " young ladies " except in Miss Abbott's brochure, where it is said that " Miss Barbara Hauer represented Maryland." [37] For such a ceremony the selection of " young ladies " could hardly have included one of thirty-three. Claims of the early fame of Barbara Hauer are not only without documentary basis, but judged in the light of eighteenth century procedure, they seem highly improbable.

From Barbara's marriage in 1806 until her husband's death in

[35] Mr. Marshall Etchison of Frederick, Md. A member of the staff of the Metropolitan Museum of New York has informed us that he agrees with this opinion.

[36] Abbott, p. 9; Williams and McKinsey, I, 138.

[37] Miss Abbott informed us that this was given on the authority of her mother, a daughter of one of Mrs. Frietschie's nieces.

1849[38] we have no record of her whatever. Except for minor legacies to relatives and to a servant, the estate of her husband went to his wife's niece, the widow receiving the use of it for life. The executor was Albert Ritchie.[39] Dr. Lewis Steiner has said that there had been trouble with the "executor, Valerius Ebert," over payments due Mrs. Frietschie,[40] but the will does not confirm this, nor does it confirm the statement of Ebert himself that he was executor.

The census of 1850 showed Barbara as head of her family, the other member being Harriet Yoner, aged forty. Miss Yoner was her companion after Catherine Stover married Henry Handschuh in 1825.[41]

The question of Barbara's health during her last years is an important one, since it is related to the flag incident. Valerius Ebert has testified that in September, 1862, she was bed-ridden, helpless and unable to move, and that she had been in that condition for some time.[42] Another supposed witness claimed that on September 7, 1862, she had been so ill that the sacrament had to be taken to her house.[43] Of great importance in this connection

[38] The date was November 9, 1849, according to the inscription on his tombstone in the German Reformed Churchyard. Early in 1849, Frietschie purchased a lot in this cemetery although he himself was a Lutheran. The deed is owned by the writers and is on deposit in the Duke University Library.

[39] Court House, Frederick, MS Liber TS, no. 1, fol. 44.

[40] Dall, pp. 32, 72-3. Mrs. Dall collected much of her information by means of conversations with Dr. Lewis Steiner, later the distinguished librarian of the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore. Although she wrote from memory some years later, some of her facts seem to be reliable and cannot be ignored. Dr. Steiner told Mrs. Dall that his father, Christian Steiner, had taken over the management of Mrs. Frietschie's affairs in 1858. This is independently corroborated by Dr. Walter Steiner (See note 31 above). The reason given was the difficulty in dealing with Valerius Ebert. In the absence of contemporary evidence about Ebert, it seems more likely that the death of Albert Ritchie, who had been named executor in Frietschie's will, necessitated the appointment of a new agent, and that Christian Steiner was selected. We find that Ritchie's death occurred in 1858. It is possible, of course, that Ebert was appointed agent, or that his appointment had been contemplated, but there is no evidence of this (Court House, Frederick, MS GH, no. 1, fol. 284).

[41] U. S. Census Bureau, MS, Frederick County, Maryland, 1850. Mrs. Frietschie's age is erroneously given as seventy-nine. Both women were nieces. Mrs. Handschuh (Hanshew, Henshaw), had married Frietschie's partner in the glove business, which was conducted in the Frietschie house. We find no evidence that Mrs. Handschuh was the adopted daughter of the Frietschies, as Miss Abbott believed to be the case. The name of the other niece in question is given as Henrietta Yoner (Jahner) in John Casper Frietschie's will and in his wife's, but it was listed as Harriet in the census, and this is the traditional form preserved in Frederick today.

[42] M. A. Jackson, *Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson* (Louisville, Ky., 1895), p. 334; V. Ebert, in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, VII (1879), p. 438-9.

[43] Quoted by Conrad Reno, "General Jesse Lee Reno in Frederick," in *Military*

is the testimony of Jacob Engelbrecht, a friend of Barbara and of many of her relatives, a staunch Union man. He lived opposite her on West Patrick Street. On December 3, 1862, after the flag incident, and two weeks before her death, he recorded in his diary the birthday of his friend, Mrs. Frietschie, saying that she was " very active for her age."

The Evangelical Reformed Church of Frederick has a record of Barbara Frietschie's participation in communion from February, 1858 until her death.[44] We have no information as to why the record begins in 1858, and it is not clear whether her absence on some occasions has any significance. In this Church it is customary for members to receive communion on four regular occasions during the year and at no other time. Of the nineteen communion services between the dates indicated, she attended eight. On two, possibly three occasions, in January and probably at Easter, 1859, and on Whitsunday, 1862, she is listed as sick. This means that she received the sacrament at home, in bed. She last appeared for communion at her church on December 29, 1861, almost a year before her death.[45] According to these records, there was no communion on September 7, 1862. She received the sacrament for the last time, and at home, on Whitsunday, which in 1862 fell on June 8.[46] Her condition may well have improved between June 8 and September 6, and she may have been able to move about enough to wave a flag from her door or window at that time, even if such behaviour had been forbidden as unwise for this invalid of ninety-six. The testimony of Valerius Ebert as to the exact degree of her incapacity is wholly undependable,

Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Massachusetts Commandery, Civil War Papers (Boston, 1900) p. 556, as follows: ". . . One man has even gone so far as to state that upon Sunday, Sept 7, 1862, she was so ill that he was obliged to carry the sacrament from the Church to her house. This charge, however, has been refuted by several well-known citizens of Frederick who were personally acquainted with Barbara Frietschie, and who saw her daily during the time the Confederates occupied the town."

This story about the sacrament has been widely circulated in Frederick and is always quoted there as the most reliable evidence against Whittier's story. We have found only one version in print, the one quoted above. The acccount used in Frederick today is that of a Mr. Frank Rhodes, who is said to have accompanied the minister, Dr. Zacharias, when he went to Mrs. Frietschie's house.

[44] Notes from the communion records have been given us by the Reverend Henri L. G. Kieffer, minister of the Evangelical Reformed Church.

[45] She made her will on March 4, 1862. Court House, Frederick, MS Liber APK, fol. 230, no. 1.

[46] In our opinion it was the communion of June 8 which Mr. Rhodes meant. Either he, or those to whom he related the incident, may have recalled this as evidence of serious illness, without remembering or checking the dates involved.

in view of her antipathy for him,[47] and the possibility that she may have feigned illness in order to avoid seeing him.

Mrs. Frietschie died December 18, 1862, and was buried beside her husband in the Reformed Church cemetery. Jacob Engelbrecht entered these facts in his diary, together with the names of the pallbearers, of whom he was one.[48]

Barbara Frietschie's house went to her niece, "Mrs. Catherine Hanshew," with the reservation that Miss Yoner, the niece who lived with her at the time of her death, might continue to live there. Her nephew Nicholas, son of Daniel Hauer, her brother, was her executor.[49]

On April 11, 1866, the house was sold to George Eissler.[50] He was much annoyed by visitors who appeared at the door asking to be shown through the house.[51] Then in 1868, the waters of Carroll Creek, which flowed by the house, rose to such a height that a part of the building was washed away. The following year the town corporation decided to avoid a repetition of the disaster, and ordered the condemnation of the house which stood on ground which had to be removed to widen the creek.[52] There seems to be nothing to the story that they razed the house in order to destroy the memory of Barbara Frietschie.[53] Some of the wood from the timbers was made into canes. Whittier[54] and General Cox each possessed one, and there is at least one in Frederick.

The house which now bears the label "Barbara Frietschie's House" was built in 1926. According to a Frederick writer in the Baltimore *Sun*,[55] it is different in size and number of rooms

[47] Dall, p. 33.

[48] Entry dated Dec. 22, 1862. An obituary appeared in the Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, December 24, 1862.

[49] See her will. Nicholas Hauer was an active citizen of Frederick, where he died in 1912. He probably knew more about his aunt than anyone else, but no one seems to have consulted him about her. Barbara Frietschie was survived by a large number of nephews and nieces. One grandchild of her brother Daniel is still living in Frederick, and four others have died recently. None of these relatives has taken any part in the controversy, which has been confined largely to the descendants of one of Mrs. Frietschie's sisters, through Mrs. Handschuh, and her daughter and grand-daughter, Mrs. Abbott and Miss Eleanor Abbott.

[50] Deed, Court House, Frederick, MS Liber JWLC, fol. 700, no. 3.

[51] *U. S. Army and Navy Journal* (New York, July 20, 1867), IV, 759; *Weekly Examiner and Express* (Lancaster, Penna.), July 21, 1886.

[52] Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht, April 8, 1869.

[53] Cf. Dall, p. 58.

[54] Samuel T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston and New York, 1894), I, 273-4.

[55] Harry Haller, in Baltimore *Sun*, Sunday, June 17, 1937.

from the original house. Various relics have been collected, and are on display there. Another collection belongs to the original hostess, Miss Eleanor Abbott, who left in 1934, and moved her relics to her home on Market street.

II. The Flag Episode

The second battle of Bull Run having ended successfully for the Confederacy on September 2, 1862, General Lee headed north the next day for an invasion of Maryland. On September 5 and 6 the army crossed the Potomac.[56] Jackson's command was in the lead and reached Three Springs the night of the fifth, where they camped. The next day, Saturday, September 6, they arrived in the vicinity of Frederick in the morning, and established quarters "near its suburbs."[57] Probably most of the soldiers were to the south of the town along the Washington road or Georgetown Pike, as it was called then. During the occupation of Frederick, the cavalry stayed at Urbana, about six miles south of the town. Headquarters for the entire army was set up in a grove of trees south of Frederick.[58] A Confederate officer[59] wrote in his Diary: "We are encamped (the two reserve batteries of Washington Artillery) in a beautiful grove of oaks. On one side of us the headquarters of Gen. Longstreet are established, and with him is Gen. Lee. On the other side Stonewall has pitched his tents." General Lee dated his reports during the occupation "two miles

[56] *Official Records of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1887), 1st series, XIX, pt. 1, p. 839, 952-3, 965-6. This ford is not indicated on the campaign maps published in a separate volume to accompany the *Official Records*. There is shown, however, on the map for the Maryland campaign, a Nolan's ferry or ford, a few miles northwest of the mouth of the Monacacy in the direction of Point of Rocks.

[57] *Ibid.*, XIX, pt. 1, p. 952-3.

[58] Identified as Best's Grove by H. K. Douglas in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884-8), II, 620.

[59] William Miller Owen, *In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery of New Orleans . . .* (Boston, 1885), p. 131-2. He adds: "Jackson's 'foot-cavalry' has been here before us, and has gobbled all the plunder; but we found a grocer, a good, sensible fellow with 'rebel sympathies,' and we invested a few hundred dollars 'Confederate script' in coffee, sugar, whiskey, Scotch ale, champagne and a few other 'necessaries of life,' much to the disgust of his partner . . . who felt remarkably sore when the last of his stock of groceries was exchanged for Confederate notes. We told him when Maryland began to 'burn,' they would be good in New York for gold.

"Oh, what a time we had in camp that night! Oh, my! Green corn dinners, hard marches, thirst and fatigue,—all were forgotten. 'Champagne flowed like water' (not too much water, but just enough), the 'crystal goblets were filled to the brim' and we 'sipped the nectar' and felt mighty good, not to express it in stronger terms. Final result, by a mental calculation, a headache in the early dawn; but a plunge in the cold waters of the Monacacy brought us about all right again."

from Fredericktown " [60] but the grove in question seems to have been near Frederick Junction, three miles south of the town.[61] Early's command was detached to guard the bridges over the Monocacy at Frederick Junction.[62] Jones' Brigade, commanded by Colonel B. T. Johnson, was posted in the town as a provost guard.[63] In none of the official reports is mention made of any troops quartered north of the town. According to Dr. Lewis H. Steiner,[64] who was inspector for the Union Sanitary Commission in Frederick during the occupation, five thousand men of Jackson's forces encamped north of the town, possibly at Worman's Mill, about two and a half miles from the center of Frederick.[65] General Lee issued a special order [66] to the effect that all officers and men were forbidden to visit Frederick except on business. One biographer of Lee says that troops were ordered to treat all those who professed Union sentiments " with kindness and consideration." [67]

Jackson had been injured by a fall from horseback soon after entering Maryland and therefore rested at his quarters near Frederick Junction during Saturday and Sunday. On Sunday evening, September 7, he went to Frederick in an ambulance—still unable to ride—to attend service at his own church, the Presbyterian. The Church being closed that evening, Jackson went to the Reformed Church, perhaps because of the similarity between the services, of which Jackson may have been aware because of the great number of Pennsylvania Germans in the Valley of Virginia. Certainly Jackson could not have expected the same cordial welcome which he would have received in the Presbyterian Church, of which the minister was a friend of his wife's family. It is said that Jackson slept through the service [68] and did not

[60] *Official Records*, XIX, pt. 1, p. 9139.

[61] Military Order of the Loyal Legion . . . Mass. Commandery, *Civil War Papers*, II, 560.

[62] *Official Records*, XIX, pt. 1, p. 965-6. [63] *Ibid.*, XIX, pt. 1, p. 952-3.

[64] *Report of Lewis Steiner, M. D. . . . Containing a Diary Kept during the Occupation of Frederick, Md.* (New York, 1862), p. 7-8. The Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, September 24, 1862, confirms this, reporting that some of Jackson's men under General Johnson, went through the town with " twenty-two pieces of artillery " and encamped at Worman's Mill. On another page of the same issue, but dated September 10, the paper states that the town " was quiet but swarmed with dirty and ragged soldiers " on Sunday, September 7.

[65] Williams and McKinsey, I, 377, and Abbott, p. 14, also mention Worman's Mill, but without giving sources.

[66] *Official Records*, XIX, pt. 2, p. 603 (no. 191). Confederate and Union sources suggest that it was not universally obeyed. Cf. notes 59 and 64 above.

[67] Emily V. Mason, *Popular Life of General R. E. Lee* (Baltimore, 1872), p. 136.

[68] Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, September 24, 1862.

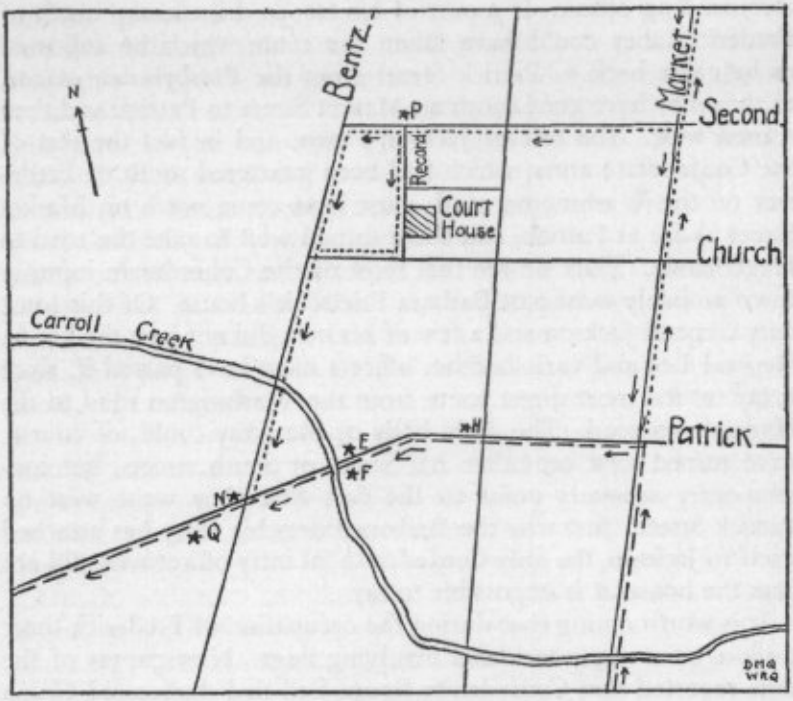
hear the prayer for the President of the United States and the hymn which condemns rebels. Perhaps the only glimpse that Barbara Frietschie ever had of General Jackson was in the Reformed Church that Sunday night, providing that she was well enough to go to Church at that time, for it seems extremely unlikely that she ever laid eyes on him elsewhere in Frederick.

General Jackson returned to camp that night after church, and did not go back to Frederick until the early morning of Wednesday, September 10, when the army left Frederick on its way west to Martinsburg, Boonsboro, South Mountain and Hagerstown. Early that morning Jackson went to Frederick, stopped at the center of town and inquired the way to various places in Pennsylvania in order to mislead people as to his real objective.[69] He then must have ridden up North Market Street to Second Street and there turned west. He stopped at the house of the Reverend Dr. Ross, the Presbyterian minister, whom he had not been able to see the preceding Sunday night. Dr. Ross was not yet up, so that Jackson left a note with the servant who had come to the door, expressing regret.[70] He then probably continued a short distance west on Second Street to the intersection of Mill Alley, or Bentz Street, turned south and reached Patrick Street, the main line of march for the army going west, where Bentz Street or Mill Alley crosses it, about sixty yards west of Barbara Frietschie's house.[71] He could have reached this point by following Record Street south to Church, then turning west on Church to Mill Alley. Barbara's house was probably visible from the point where Jackson rejoined his men, the intersection of Patrick and Bentz streets, mentioned above.

[69] Military Order of the Loyal Legion, *op. cit.*, II, 560.

[70] Dr. Ross resigned his position in November, 1862, because his strong Confederate sympathies were distasteful to his congregation. (Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht, November 5, 1862.) Jackson's visit may have called attention to this attitude. It is even possible that Jackson may have hoped for information or other help from a trusted friend, and that Dr. Ross, knowing this, and fearing results, kept out of reach.

[71] Various authors who have written on the subject of Jackson's passage through Frederick have confused the facts about the disposition of the troops in the town, the direction from which they came, and the time they came through. Among these are Nixdorff, Williams and McKinsey, and Caroline Dall, all cited above. Mrs. Dall published a map of the surroundings of the Frietschie house, drawn from memory, and very inaccurate. For those not familiar with Frederick, it should be explained that Patrick street, the principal east and west artery, is the road from Baltimore to the west; Market street, the main north and south thoroughfare, is the road from Washington to Gettysburg. These two streets intersect at approximately the center of the town.



Map of the center of Frederick (1862)

---Route of main Confederate army, entering by South Market Street, leaving by West Patrick Street

·····Possible routes of Jackson and detachments

Houses: F = Frietschie E = Engelbrecht H = N. Hauer

N = Nixdorff Q = Quantrell P = Presbyterian Manse

As Jackson's command was to go further than the rest of the army, that is, to Martinsburg, they left first, preceded by their commanding officer. If a part of his troops did encamp north of Frederick, they could have taken the route which he followed as he came back to Patrick Street from the Presbyterian manse, or they may have gone south on Market Street to Patrick and then turned west. The rest of Jackson's men, and in fact the rest of the Confederate army, which had been quartered south of Frederick on the Washington road, must have come north on Market Street as far as Patrick, and there turned west to take the road to Hagerstown. Thus we see that most of the Confederate infantry force probably went past Barbara Frietschie's house. Of this force only General Jackson and a few of his men did not pass the house. General Lee and various other officers must have passed it, since it lay on the most direct route from the Washington road to the Hagerstown road. The main body of the army could, of course, have turned west on either All Saints or South streets, but contemporary accounts point to the fact that they went west on Patrick Street. Just why the Barbara Frietschie story has attached itself to Jackson, the only Confederate infantry officer who did not pass the house, it is impossible to say.

It is worth noting that during the occupation of Frederick there were a great many incidents involving flags. Newspapers of the time reported that Confederate troops had tied confiscated Union flags to their horses' tails and dragged them through the dust.[72] Several Baltimore and Washington papers of Union sympathies carried stories about women who had hidden their flags in Bibles or about their persons in order to save them.[73] None mentioned the Barbara Frietschie story, and one reported:

> Some of the female rebel sympathizers made themselves both obnoxious and ridiculous by their absurd demonstrations and spiteful spirit. . . . The loyal ladies of Frederick conducted themselves during the rebel occupancy with marked fitness and propriety. They neither denied their devotion

[72] *Maryland Union* (Frederick), September 18, 1862; Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser*, September 12, 1862; Baltimore *Clipper*, September 10, 1862. Practically all papers which we have examined in Baltimore, Washington and New York for this period have been mutilated. We have found no complete issues, but only badly labelled clippings in Frederick. We cannot therefore state that our examination has been exhaustive, although it has been as complete as we could make it.

[73] Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 15, 1862; Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser*, September 15, 1862; Baltimore *Clipper*, September 15, 1862; Baltimore *Sun*, September 15, 1862.

to the cause of their country, nor sought notoriety by parading it unnecessarily. At the proper time and in the proper way, they let the invaders know that they were unwelcome visitors.[74]

This at least implies that there were no incidents which attracted attention.[75] From a Confederate source [76] we have a statement that "those who had to march through the town had a varied reception. Some women brought out food; others held their noses and waved the Union flag."

There are two references to the deed of Barbara Frietschie, one contemporary, the other possibly so, neither being sufficiently definite to be dependable. The first was furnished by Dr. Lewis Steiner, a friend of Barbara Frietschie, whose diary was submitted to the Commission as a report.[77] He mentioned the practice of tying flags to the tails of horses, as well as a number of unconfirmed atrocity stories. He also wrote:

> A clergyman tells me that he saw an aged crone come out of her house as certain rebels passed by, trailing the American flag in the dust. She shook her long, skinny hands at the traitors and screamed at the top of her voice: "My curses be upon you and your officers for degrading your country's flag." [78]

In view of the language used, Steiner can scarcely have intended this to be a reference to his friend, Mrs. Frietschie.[79]

The other case is less reliable. Among the fragments of Whittier correspondence in a collection made by his biographer, Pickard, is a part of a letter written to Whittier by an unidentified Confederate officer. It contains the following passage:

[74] *Intelligencer*, September 17, 1862.

[75] We have been unable to find any Frederick papers of these dates, probably because the Confederates destroyed the newspaper office. A diary kept at the Quynn hardware store, formerly the Mantz store, on Patrick street, which was owned and operated by a nephew of Barbara Frietschie, made no reference to the affair. It mentioned the entrance of the Confederate army on September 6, its departure on the 10th, and the arrival of the Union soldiers on the 13th. This diary is now in the Artz Library in Frederick.

There is an account of the occupation of Frederick in the *Examiner* for September 24, 1862. It mentions Jackson's having attended church and sleeping through the service. It states that a large flag was torn down at the residence of Mr. D. F. Smith, tied to the tails of two cavalry horses and trailed through the streets. It also mentions a demonstration staged by two women of Southern sympathies.

[76] J. J. McDaniels, *Diary of Battles, Marches and Incidents of the Seventh South Carolina Regiment* (n. p., 1862?), p. 10-11.

[77] *Report of Lewis Steiner, M. D. . . .*

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[79] Mrs. Dall (p. 28) said that he had told her confidentially that he did. If so, it must have been a conclusion which he reached after publishing his report.

Amongst the subjects discussed at table I remember distinctly the displaying or flying of a Federal flag on the line of march through the city was talked of . . . that it was held or displayed by a woman or women, and that he [Captain Stark] let it alone.[80]

This is probably more reliable than the letters collected by interested persons after the controversy became bitter. Since we know neither the date nor the name of the writer, we cannot consider this good evidence. Its value is somewhat enhanced by the vagueness of the report, since it does not appear to be an effort to identify the writer with the incident.

Whether or not Union flags continued to fly throughout the occupation, they were much in evidence when the Union troops entered Frederick on September 13. According to the contemporary accounts: "All along the streets through which our troops passed flags were waved from windows and housetops, and the sidewalks were lined with spectators a full representation of which were ladies." And again, "The loyalty of Frederick is most determined. It flutters out in hundreds of flags from all parts of the sky." [81]

It is generally admitted that Barbara Frietschie was among those who greeted the Union soldiers with flags when they entered Frederick on September 13. General Reno undoubtedly talked with her on his way through Frederick on the day before the Battle of Antietam. He rode up to her house and was given the large flag which had been flying from her window, supposedly for some days. When General Reno was killed in action at Antietam, the flag was used to cover his coffin but was removed by the family after his funeral. Since the General's brother was with him when he received the flag, and later preserved it, the story comes on reasonably good authority. The possession of this flag by the Reno family has caused some confusion, since Miss Abbott believes she has the authentic flag waved by Barbara. She says that her great-aunt gave a flag to General Reno, but not the one she had waved.[82] Presumably it was the flag displayed from the window,

[80] A copy of this fragment was kindly sent us by Mr. Thomas Franklin Currier, honorary curator in the Harvard Library. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Currier for advice about Whittier materials and correspondence.

[81] Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 15, 1862, "News from Frederick"; *Ibid.*, September 17, 1862.

[82] The account comes from Colonel B. F. Reno, a younger brother, who was a witness. Colonel Reno related it to Conrad Reno, the General's son, who recorded it in Military Order of the Loyal Legion, *op. cit.*, II (1900), 553-569. Miss Abbott related her version to one of the writers on July 11, 1942.

although this cannot be established. The fact remains that the large flag, although of bunting, fits Whittier's description better than does the small silk one now preserved by Miss Abbott in her house on Market street in Frederick. In view of the fact that Barbara did not become famous until a year after her death, there is a possible question about the authenticity of the small flag. There is much more reason to accept the story about Reno's flag, since the death of the general and the use of the flag at his funeral gave the family reasons for its preservation before the poem was written. It seems certain, then, that Barbara waved her flag at the Union forces as they passed through Frederick. If so, she was one of many women who did this. The only spectacular thing about the performance was her extreme age.

It is possible, of course, that she waved her flag at the Confederates as well. As the army moved up Patrick street to the corner of Mill Alley where Jackson awaited his detachment to take the lead, it is not improbable that there was a halt in front of her house, since it was only about sixty yards from the intersection.[83] Undoubtedly there were some minor incidents of this kind, as there were later in Middletown and Boonsboro, where they were met with "a tolerant smile," [84] but in no case is there proof of Mrs. Frietschie's having taken part and there is no suggestion anywhere, except in the poem, that shooting occurred. The story of her ill-health and bed-ridden condition, so frequently referred to in Frederick today, is completely disproved by the contemporary testimony of her friend and neighbor, Jacob Engelbrecht, to the effect that she was in very good health at the time. And, as we have seen, there is no truth in the story that she received communion in bed while ill a few days before the event occurred. But from the same Jacob Engelbrecht, we have better evidence that she did not defy the Confederate army. On April 8, 1868, he

[83] It need scarcely be noted that halts offered opportunities for incidents which might be classified as "yoo-hoo, 1862." Owen, in *Camp and Battle* . . . , p. 133, gives the following example, which he says occurred in Frederick:

"The army passed through in good order, and all in the merriest and jolliest mood possible, indulging occasionally in good-natured chaff, as was their wont. . . . On a small gallery stood a buxom young lady, with laughing black eyes, watching the scene before her; on her breast she had pinned a small flag, the 'stars and stripes,' . . . some soldier sang out 'Look h'yar, Miss, better take that flag down; we're awful fond of charging breast-works.' This was carried down the line amid shouts of laughter."

[84] Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 136-7; J. A. Early, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, VII, 435.

wrote in his diary, apparently in answer to rumors circulating at the time:

> The 'Barbara Frichty' exploit as put in poetry by John G. Whittier of Vermont in regard to the displaying of the Union flag in the face of the Rebel Army . . . is *not true*. I do not believe one word of it. I live directly opposite and for three days I was nearly continually looking at the Rebel Army passing the door and nearly the whole army passed her door, and should anything like that have occurred I am certain some one in our family would have noticed it.

Jacob Engelbrecht, a Union sympathizer, and later mayor of Frederick, missed very little that happened if we may judge by his diary. It is unlikely that any altercation occurred in front of her house, both because he did not record it in 1862 and because of his emphatic denial in 1868. But if Barbara waved her flag without serious interference, even the Engelbrecht family might have missed it. If there had been shooting, a crowd would certainly have gathered.

There is another possible source which should be considered. Barbara's obituary in a Frederick paper spoke of her Union sympathies and of her having waved the flag to welcome the Union army on September 13. It did not mention the Southern army. This proves the existence of a story about her within three months after the event occurred, and before the writing of the poem.[85] But it limits the story to her welcome of the Union army.

It is possible that Barbara Frietschie may have developed in her old age a flag-waving complex. One of her neighbors said: [86] "She had early secured a United States flag, and often during the earlier part of the Rebellion . . . I have seen [it] . . . floating from her dormer window of her house, and my old neighbor standing beside the flag-staff looking intently at that . . . consecrated, blessed emblem." In this case she would certainly have been on hand when the Union troops appeared. If she was psychopathic,[87] as we think may have been the case, there was

[85] Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, December 24, 1862. A less complete obituary in the *Maryland Union* (Frederick, Md.) December 25, 1862, makes no mention of a flag episode. We have been assured by Judge Hammond Urner of Frederick, that his father, the late Milton G. Urner, member of Congress, heard the story of the flag episode "at Mrs. Frietschie's" on the evening of September 10, 1862, the day it is said to have occurred. Cf. Walter Steiner, *Proceedings of the Charaka Club*, X, 8.

[86] Nixdorff, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[87] Dr. M. H. Greenhill, of the Department of Psychiatry of the Duke University Medical School, whom we consulted, said that such behavior came in the class

nothing surprising about her supposed defiance of the Confederate army.[88]

III. The Poem

We are not here concerned with the literary worth of the poem. It is of interest only in so far as it shows what information the poet had at hand when he wrote the ballad. Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, of Georgetown, D. C., sent Whittier an outline of the story but gave no topographical details.

The town of Frederick lies in a valley running north and south, with hills about five miles to the west and another lower range somewhat further distant to the east. The "clustered spires" number five in all, and seen from the "mountain wall" to the west do give the impression of being close together. The "sunset light" does come through the "hill gaps" to the west. Frederick is surrounded by prosperous farms and orchards. But there the comparatively exact knowledge of the poet stops.

of rebellious actions indulged in by persons of her history, in so far as we know it. Her reputation for strong-willed, independent behavior, her extremely late marriage to a much younger man, whose family had been involved in a scandal which might ostracize them in "patriotic" company, all may have been contributing factors, if she was really psychopathic.

[88] Miss Abbott's brochure takes the stand that she waved at both armies, and she quotes a number of testimonials which she has collected, many of them undependable. Her own statements contain some contradictions. On page 13 she says, ". . . Many persons were eyewitnesses and testified that the Confederate Army, except Jackson and his staff and A. P. Hill's division, did pass the Fritchie house." On page 15 she cites the testimony of a "young man passing through Frederick" whose uncle "had witnessed the flagwaving" and had seen "Stonewall Jackson talking to Mrs. Fritchie:." On page 16 she attempts to prove that the person who waved the flag at the Union army "was the same woman who had waved her flag as Jackson came through." On page 17 she quotes Nixdorff, who implies that Jackson passed the house. She quotes Mrs. Frietschie, in language which implies an interview: "Mrs Fritchie's own account of the incident follows: It was early morning, September 10, 1862. The large bunting flag had not yet been placed in the dormer window as it was not quite seven o'clock. One of Mrs Hanshew's children came in, calling excitedly, 'Look out for your flag, the troops are coming!'. . . Thinking the Union troops were coming, she took her small flag from between the leaves of her family bible and stepped out on the front porch. Immediately one of the men came to her and told her she had better go in or she might be harmed. Realizing her mistake, and that she was in the midst of Confederate soldiers, she nevertheless refused to go in. Then a second soldier came and tried to take the flag from her saying that he wanted it to put at his horse's head. A third soldier threatened to shoot it out of her hand if she didn't go in. An officer rode forward, turned angrily upon the men and said, 'If you harm a hair of the old lady's head I'll shoot you down like a dog.' Then turning to the trembling old lady he said, 'Go on, Granny, wave your flag as much as you please. . . .' This is at best a paraphrase, related to Miss Abbott by Mrs. Edward Winebrenner (née Caroline Ebert, John Casper Frietschie's niece) in 1913. It is apparently the source for the statement of Dr. Walter Steiner that Caroline Ebert first told the story. (See Steiner, *Proceedings of the Charaka Club*, X, 10.)

Lee did not come east over the mountain wall (the Catoctin range), but north from the Potomac and then went west over the hills on the way to Antietam. The reference to

> Forty flags with their silver stars
> Forty flags with their crimson bars

is misleading, for they were obviously Union flags which were hauled down. "Stars and bars" usually meant Confederate flags. The flag described by Whittier as a "silken scarf" must have been of bunting, since it was large enough to be hung from a pole. This has led to a confusion, since Barbara is now said to have possessed two flags, a large bunting flag which she displayed from her window, and a small silk one which she held in her hand.

The errors in military detail have already been mentioned. The only fairly accurate knowledge that the poet possessed concerned the appearance of the town and the surrounding country. Where did he get this information?

While it is true that people who visit Frederick today almost invariably speak of the "clustered spires," it seems obvious that they do so only because of remembrance of the lines:

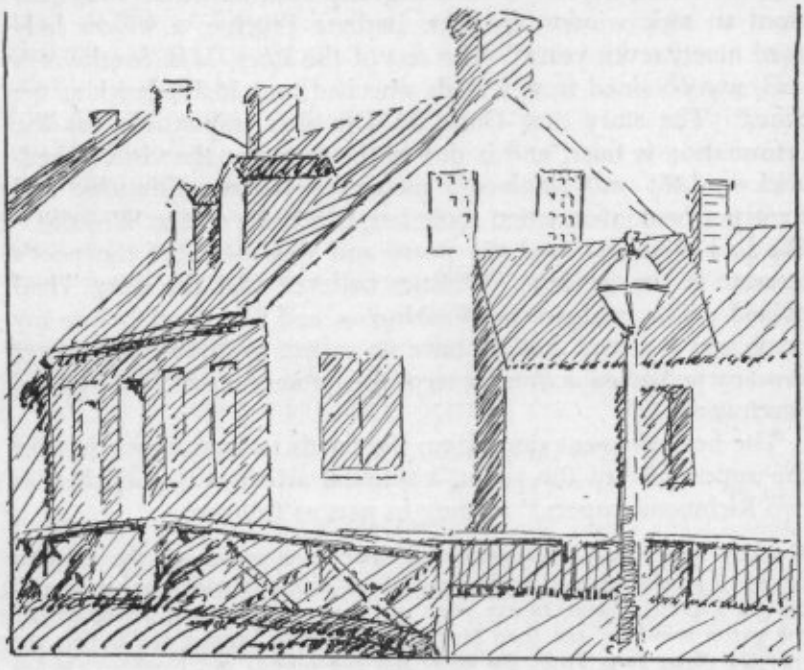
> The clustered spires of Frederick stand
> Green-walled by the hills of Maryland.

Actually the spires are not clustered, but form almost a straight line along two parallel streets. They appear clustered only if seen from the west as the Confederate army might have seen them had they paused in their retreat to the west. It is a curious fact, that almost the same words were used by Oliver Wendell Holmes less than a year before Whittier wrote his poem. Holmes had gone to Frederick in search of his son, the late Justice, who had been wounded in the battle of Antietam. The account [89] of his experiences included the following: "In approaching Frederick [from the west], the singular beauty of its clustered spires struck me very much . . . how gracefully, how charmingly its group of steeples nestles among the Maryland hills."

It is well known that Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote of this journey, and it has been pointed out as an argument against the Barbara Frietsche story that Holmes, who was in Frederick in

[89] Oliver Wendell Holmes, "My Hunt after 'The Captain,'" in *Pages from an Old Volume of Life* (Boston and New York, 1899), p. 16-17.

September, 1862, did not mention the episode.[90] But attention has never been called to the fact that Holmes' story originally appeared in the *Atlantic* in December, 1862, and that Whittier wrote his poem late in the summer of 1863, and published it, also in the *Atlantic*, in October. Both men were regular contributors to the magazine. Whittier must have seen Holmes' story,



The Frietschie House on Patrick Street, with bridge over Carroll Creek. Drawn from an old photograph made by the photographer Byerly, Barbara's cousin, shortly before the house was torn down.

both because it appeared in the *Atlantic*, and because it was the work of a friend. It is likely, too, that he talked with Holmes about Frederick, whether in casual conversation about Holmes' journey, or in a definite effort to obtain material for his poem. It is more than a coincidence that Whittier's description of the entrance into Frederick fits Holmes' return from Antietam to Frederick, from the west, better than Lee's entry from the south.

[90] *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, II, 618.

IV. Growth of the Legend

Whittier's poem appeared in October, 1863. He had apparently received a detailed account from Mrs. Southworth early in August, 1863. Her letter said that the story had gone "the round of the Washington papers last September," that "when Lee's army occupied Frederick, the only Union flag displayed in the city was held from an attic window by Mrs. Barbara Fritchie, a widow lady aged ninety-seven years." The rest of the story, Mrs. Southworth said, was obtained from friends who had been in Frederick at the time.[91] The story that Dorothea Dix was responsible for the information is false, and is due to the fact that she visited Frederick in 1865 and obtained a picture of Barbara Frietschie and some personal information about her, which she sent to Whittier.[92] She had doubtless read the poem and was aware of the poet's interest in the incident. Whittier believed that the story "had gained public credence in Washington and Maryland before my poem was written," but we have no reason to think that he ever saw any published account, except the quotation sent him by Mrs. Southworth." [93]

The first comment came from the South. About a month after the appearance of the poem, a satirical article was published in two Richmond papers,[94] reading in part as follows:

> A likely story, truly. Frederick City, fair as a garden of the Lord to famished rebels; Jackson at the head of his columns, ordering his men to fire on a Dutch dame, ninety years old, because she hung a flag out of the garret window, and then blushing for shame because the bullets cut the flag clean away from the staff, and the nimble old harridan catches it as it fell, leans far out on the window sill and shakes it forth with a royal will, careless of the danger of losing her center of gravity and pitching headlong into the street. See the noble nature within him stirred at Dame Barbara's deed and word, and hear him thunder,
>
> "Who touches a hair of yon gray head,
> Dies like a dog! March on! he said."
>
> Think, too, of the loyal winds upholding the flag they loved so well. The sun set light, bidding the flag good night, in pure Yankee accents,

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[91] Pickard, II, 454-6. See App. IV.
[92] John Albree, *Whittier Correspondence from the Oak Knoll Collections*, 1830-1892 (Salem, Mass., 1911), p. 152-3. See App. V.
[93] *Century*, X (September, 1886), 783 ff. See App. V.
[94] The Richmond *Examiner*, copied in the Richmond *Record*, November 26, 1863.

and drop a tear on Stonewall's bier for old Frietchie's sake, if you can; and if you cannot, employ a loyal onion to aid you in the pathetic task.

The uncultivated may pronounce this poem so much unadulterated and self-evident nonsense, but the wise, the gifted, the good, know that it will outlive and disprove all histories, however well authenticated. . . . Nay, there is danger lest the veritable countrymen of the poetaster will become excessively angry with everyone who dares to question Barbara Frietchie's unrivalled courage, or hesitates to believe that she was born of Yankee parents on both sides, in the center of a pumpkin patch in New Hampshire."

In the North, of course, the reaction was quite different. People began immediately to go to Frederick to visit the scene of Whittier's popular poem. Citizens of the town were annoyed by the questions of the visitors, to such an extent that Mrs. Dall, years later, came to the erroneous conclusion that the house had been pulled down to avoid visitors.[95] Benson J. Lossing said that he went there as early as 1866 to make investigations which he later published.[96] We have been able to find only one contemporary account of an early visit. In 1867 an anonymous contributor to the *Army and Navy Journal* made a " pilgrimage " to Frederick because of the enthusiastic interest of a member of his family in Barbara Frietschie. He wrote: [97]

Her house is a quaint but exceedingly attractive old-fashioned steep-rooved little structure with curious rear-buildings immediately on the bank of Carrol's Run. . . .

A German tailor who seemed to be a tenant of part of the house expressed disbelief in the story in anything but courteous language. . . . The heroine's nephew,[98] who keeps the City Hotel, could not have been more polite upon the subject, but he was very dubious.

Baffled . . . we applied for information to a gentleman whose distinguished connection with the maintenance service of the Army gave him every opportunity of knowing the truth. . . . (He said) the story is based upon something which by poetic fancy has been intensified into Whittier's exquisite poem.

He then continued with the story that Barbara had waved her flag at the Union troops and told of her meeting with General Reno.

General J. D. Cox, writing in 1900, said that he had visited

[95] Dall, p. 57-8.

[96] Lossing in *American Historical Record* (Philadelphia, 1872-4), II, 131. Lossing published a picture of the house, II, 497.

[97] *U. S. Army and Navy Journal*, IV (New York, 1867), 759.

[98] Probably Nicholas Hauer. See note 49 above.

Frederick with General Grant in 1869, and had found the Frietschie house torn down. General Cox was presented with a cane made from the timbers of the house. It was he who had ridden at the head of the Union column which had entered Frederick on September 13, 1862. He remembered the windows filled with ladies waving flags and handkerchiefs but did not see Barbara Frietschie nor had he heard of her until he read Whittier's poem. Grant remarked that the gift of the walking-stick had shut him up from a denial of the legend.[99]

The controversy about the poem seems not to have become active until 1875. On May 8 of that year, the Boston *Daily Advertiser* published letters from Jubal Early, Jacob Engelbrecht and Samuel Tyler denying that the flag-waving had ever occurred. Whittier replied on May 13 in the same paper.

Among those who joined in the argument was the novelist, Caroline Wells Dall. She wrote a number of short articles[100] before she published her biography of Barbara Frietschie in 1892. In 1876, she went to Frederick to investigate the story. Failing to discover any "blood-relatives" of Barbara,[101] she interviewed Valerius Ebert, Byerly, the photographer who had made the well-known portrait of Barbara, relatives of John Casper Frietschie, and Catherine Stover Handschuh. She found Mrs. Handschuh "too old to recall the story," an interesting remark in view of the fact that all the traditional information about Mrs. Frietschie is given today on the authority of Mrs. Abbott, daughter of Mrs. Handschuh. The only person who supplied what Mrs. Dall considered reliable information was Dr. Lewis Steiner, writer of the diary quoted above, and a friend, it will be recalled, of Mrs. Frietschie. Mrs. Dall said that Steiner had told her in confidence, which she respected until his death, that the reference to the "aged crone" in his diary was to Barbara Frietschie, "three days after Jackson's men had fired on her flag."[102]

In the same year, a new element entered the story. A person signing himself "Karl Edmund" wrote to the Philadelphia *Press,*

[99] J. D. Cox, *Military Reminiscence of the Civil War* (New York, 1900), I, 273-4, and note 2.

[100] *Independent*, XXVII (New York, November 4, 1875), 5; *Sunday Afternoon*, I (April, 1878), 348-54; *Unitarian Review*, X (September, 1878), 340-1.

[101] This is strange, since a great many nephews and nieces were then living in Frederick, some of them rather prominent. Her nephew and executor, Nicholas Hauer, lived on Patrick street, in the same block as her house, on the opposite side of the street.

[102] Dall, p. 27-28.

May 18, 1876, suggesting that a Mrs. Quantrell might have been the person who defied the Confederate army. More polemics followed, including Mrs. Dall's letters, but for some years no one appeared to support the suggestion of "Karl Edmund." Then, in 1887, H. M. Nixdorff, under the title of *Life of Whittier's Heroine, Barbara Fritchie*,[103] came to the rescue, not of Mrs. Frietschie, but of Mrs. Quantrell. After pages of the most extravagant praise of Barbara's patriotism, her Union sympathies, and her anger at the Confederate troops who had come to her spring for water, Nixdorff said that he had no personal knowledge of the deed attributed to her.[104] But as he stood in his doorway, he "happened to look up the street and saw a very intelligent lady . . .[105] standing on her porch with a small United States flag in her hand waving. . . ." [106] He learned later, he said, that Mrs. Quantrell had spoken "such glowing words of patriotism" that the officer in command would not allow his men to harm her. The difficulty with Nixdorff's testimony and that of his somewhat dubious witnesses, is that none of them had appeared to testify during the previous fifteen years. One has the impression that Nixdorff was attempting to give credit to both ladies at once.

Mrs. Quantrell never attempted to claim the glory for herself.[107] One writer has remarked that she probably wanted to be a village heroine.[108] If so, she left it for her daughter to seek notoriety after her death. In 1891, Virgie Quantrell Browne wrote an article for *Kate Field's Washington*,[109] and the next year one for the Washington *Evening Star*,[110] protesting that Barbara Frietschie had had nothing whatever to do with the deed which had made her famous, and that it was Mrs. Quantrell and not Mrs. Frietschie who had given the flag to "one of Burnsides' men," presumably General Reno, on his way to Antietam. She even attacked Mrs. Frietschie's family in a most vituperative manner, accusing them of remaining silent until "they found glory descending on the old

[103] Frederick, Md. 1887. [104] Nixdorff, p. 16-20, 30-31.

[105] Col. Reno said that Mrs. Quantrell kept a small private school. This would probably justify to Nixdorff his description of her as "intelligent."

[106] Nixdorff, p. 33-4. He does not state clearly whether he recognized Mrs. Quantrell at the time. He appends a curious document, a letter submitted to some neighbors, asking them if it was true that it was Mrs. Quantrell who had waved the flag. They signed a statement that it was, but they gave no reasons, and they did not claim to have been eye-witnesses.

[107] She died in August, 1879. (See *Kate Field's Washington*, III (1891), 412.

[108] Henry Clay Naill, *Literary Digest*, August 26, 1911.

[109] June 24, 1891, III, 411-2. [110] September 12, 1892.

lady's head, after which they accepted all the encomium without protest." [111] She ended her tirade with the words: "I fling back the anathemas with which they assailed my mother's act." [112]

Mrs. Browne was obviously guilty herself of the charges she made against Mrs. Frietschie's family, notably that of "remaining silent until they found glory descending." In addition, her statement is full of glaring errors, among which are the following: [113]

1. "Stonewall Jackson was never in the city of Frederick, during the war; there are plenty of Confederate officers of rank who will substantiate that."
2. "Mrs. Frietschie was bed-ridden at the time."
3. "Mrs. Frietschie's husband was hung years before in the court house yard as a 'Tory.'" [114]
4. "Mrs. Southworth says she received her information from a Mr. Ramsburg only a few years ago."
5. "Mrs. Southworth . . . writes . . . she . . . received it from Miss Dorothea Dix." [115]
6. "I received not only one but several letters [from Whittier] expressing regret that he had given publicity to a false idea and robbed the true subject of justice." [116]

In view of the large number of errors in Mrs. Browne's statement, its combative tone, and the complete lack of corroborative evidence, the claims made for Mrs. Quantrell cannot be considered valid.

While these letters were being published, an anonymous correspondent wrote to the same paper that in February, 1892, she had called on "Mrs. Catherine Hanshaw" niece of Mrs. Frietschie, who was at the same time ninety-one years old, and who had since died. Mrs. Handschuh had told her visitor of "the

[111] *Kate Field's Washington*, III, 412.

[112] We have been unable to find any evidence of the attacks she mentioned. Only a few of Mrs. Frietschie's relatives have taken part in the controversy, and none of them seem to have mentioned Mrs. Quantrell.

[113] Taken from her letter to the Washington *Evening Star*, September 12, 1892.

[114] John Casper Frietschie died peacefully in Frederick in 1849 at the age of sixty-nine, which would have made him three years old when the American Revolution ended, hardly an age for Tory activities or hanging. She has obviously confused him with his father, who had been hanged one hundred ten years before the date of her letter.

[115] Mrs. Southworth, and later her son in her behalf, insisted that the information was obtained and sent to Whittier shortly after the event took place. They denied knowing Miss Dix and all correspondence with her on this subject. Cf. note 94 above.

[116] There is no evidence of such letters and they are not in line with Whittier's attitude. See App. V.

falseness of the story of her Aunt Barbara and the flag," saying that "Aunt Barbara was never known to possess a flag," and that the publicity had become very distressing to her relatives.[117] It is significant that Mrs. Handschuh, when visited by Mrs. Dall some years before, had seemed too old to recall the story.

In 1892 another denial came from Mrs. Jackson, in her *Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson.*[118] Stonewall Jackson had written to his wife of his stay in Frederick, but had made no mention of the story. Mrs. Jackson had conducted some investigations on the subject, and published several denials, including one from Valerius Ebert.[119] Mrs. Jackson and other Southerners resented the implied slur on Jackson's character.

In 1899 and 1900 there were more letters to newspapers, notably a series in the *New York Times*[120] and some in the Boston *Evening Transcript.*[121] None of these has added to the story.

The controversy became bitter in 1913. The old German Reformed Cemetery was turned into a park and some bodies were removed to Mt. Olivet Cemetery. Those of Mrs. Frietschie and her husband were buried in the so-called Frietchie triangle and a monument erected to their memory. More letters were written to the newspapers, and another magazine article appeared.[122] In September, 1914, at the time of the dedication of the monument at the new grave, a Barbara Frietschie Memorial Association arranged elaborate ceremonies, but feeling ran high, many relatives and friends of Mrs. Frietschie's family refusing to attend, because, as they said, " she didn't do it." [123]

Since that time, and especially since the replica of the house was built in 1926, efforts have been made to collect testimony and relics. Miss Eleanor Abbott, daughter of Mrs. J. A. Abbott, (née Julia Handschuh), a grand-niece of Mrs. Frietschie, became hostess and remained in the new house until 1934. Some of the testimony which she collected and published,[124] came from visitors to this house who volunteered information. In some cases, it consisted of statements made by aged persons dealing with events

[117] Washington *Evening Star,* September 12, 1892.
[118] New York, 1892, p. 346-8.
[119] Jacob Engelbrecht said that Valerius Ebert was an " arrant rebel."
[120] October, 4, 10, 14, 1899.
[121] May 2, 4, 9, 1900.
[122] *Daily News,* Frederick, June 19, 1913; *Semi-Weekly News,* Frederick, June 3, 1913; *Magazine of History,* XVI (March, 1913) 120.
[123] Testimony obtained by the writers from relatives still living.
[124] Abbott, p. 14-6.

which had supposedly ocurred fifty or more years earlier, and which had been much discussed in public for half a century. This kind of evidence could be classed only as hearsay, as for example, the story told by a supposed eye-witness, Colonel Edward Schley, who told his sister, whose grand-daughter related it to Miss Abbott.[125]

In the face of much conflicting evidence it is impossible to decide exactly what happened. Certain facts emerge. There is no proof that Mrs. Frietschie or Mrs. Quantrell waved a flag at the Confederate Army or any part of it. It seems certain that neither Stonewall Jackson nor any other Confederate general was involved in any way, and almost equally certain that no serious altercation occurred, or anything which involved firing. On the other hand there unquestionably were minor incidents connected with the display of Union flags during the occupation which tradition may have confused with the demonstrations staged on the occasion of entry of the Union troops after it. Barbara Frietschie's obituary states definitely that she participated in the latter. Many women waved flags on this occasion. Since we have no unimpeachable evidence that she also waved a flag at the Confederate Army, we can state only that there exists a tradition that she did so.

This tradition became connected with her name shortly after her death. Her reputation, together with a possible psychopathic element, led people to expect behaviour of the type described, and to attribute to her the act of some anonymous person. The testimony of her friends and relatives has not helped to solve the problem, since their beliefs have become strongly colored by their attitudes toward the war itself, those of Union sympathies in general supporting Whittier's version, and those of Confederate sympathies vigorously denying the truth of it.

Several years ago, a friend told the writers of her experience when living and teaching in Frederick. "When pressed for conversation at dinner," she said, "you ask your nearest neighbor, in a stage whisper, 'Tell me, just what is the truth about the Barbara Frietschie story?' Then you lean back and listen to the argument for the rest of the evening."

(The Appendixes will appear in a later number of the *Magazine*—Editor.)

[125] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

DANIEL DULANY
THE YOUNGER

SAMUEL CHASE

CHARLES CARROLL
BARRISTER

ROBERT SMITH

LUTHER MARTIN

WILLIAM PINKNEY

ALEXANDER C. HANSON

GABRIEL DUVALL

ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER

THE NAMES OF THE GREAT LAWYERS ON THE FRIEZE OF THE BALTIMORE SUPREME BENCH COURT ROOM [1]

By HENRY D. HARLAN

On the plaster frieze of the Court House in Baltimore there are inscribed twenty-four names. How they got there and who they were is a story that has never been told, and as I am the last survivor of the Court House Commission which had them placed there, and of the Supreme Bench which selected them forty-two years ago, I feel that the obligation is upon me to tell this story.

The new Court House was first provided for by popular vote in 1892. The architects, Wyatt and Nolting of Baltimore, were chosen by a competition conducted by the Court House Commission, which at that time consisted of Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Mayor, *ex officio,* James Hodges, James E. Tate, Robert H. Smith, Henry D. Harlan, Frank N. Hoen, Felix Agnus, and Augustine J. Dalrymple. Plans and specifications were submitted to contractors in 1895, and the bid of John Gill & Sons and D. W. Thomas of Ohio, associate contractors, was accepted, and the contract was awarded to them on July 22, 1895. The first brick was laid January 30, 1896. The cornerstone was laid with Masonic ceremonies, June 25, 1896. The Court House was in process of construction during the ensuing five years and was dedicated on January 8, 1900.

While the Court House was being constructed, the Commission had visited some of the newer court houses and other public buildings in the eastern states, and had observed that names were being effectively used in their decorations. Sometime early in 1899 I suggested to my associates the use of the names of some celebrated lawyers of Maryland who were deceased, who had been in some way connected with our Bar or whose fame was so illustrious that they belonged to us as to the whole State of Maryland. The Commission thought well of my suggestion and on January 25, 1899, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Judges of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City be requested to express their opinion as to the propriety of placing the names

[1] Address before the Society, February 9, 1942.

of some leading members of the Bar on the walls of the Supreme Bench Room of the New Court House, and if of an affirmative opinion, that they be requested to furnish the names of twenty-four men whom they consider to be entitled to that honor.

At this time the Supreme Bench consisted of the following members: Henry D. Harlan, chief judge; Charles E. Phelps, J. Upshur Dennis, Daniel Giraud Wright, Pere L. Wickes, Albert Ritchie, John J. Dobler, Henry Stockbridge, George M. Sharp, associate judges, several of whom were peculiarly qualified by reason of long knowledge of the history of the Bar and of the State to give most valuable assistance in the selection of the twenty-four names of lawyers entitled to this honor. To the letter of the Commission the Supreme Bench replied on February 7, 1899. In the meantime the matter was the subject of discussion and study. Other members of the Bar were consulted. Lists were prepared from all suggestions, and used in choosing the names to be recommended by the Bench. Between the date of the letter of the Court House Commission and the reply of the Supreme Bench, certain members of the Bench and some of the older and leading members of the Bar dined with me at my then home, 9 West Biddle Street, and discussed the selection of the names for the frieze, after dinner had been served, around the dinner table. I do not recall all who were present. It was a small dinner because I lived in a small house. However, those present were leading members of the Bar and Bench. Their opinions were invaluable in making any selection of those most celebrated and worthy of honor, whom they knew personally or with whose reputations and achievements they were familiar by history or tradition. The twenty-four names recommended in the letter from the Supreme Bench to the Court House Commission were adopted and under the Commission's orders were inscribed on the frieze.

The Supreme Bench Court Room has been pronounced one of the most effective chambers of its size in existence. It is entirely surmounted by a dome resting upon walls and sixteen columns of richly colored marble. This marble was procured from a quarry near Rome, which is the property of the Holy See, and the product of which, owing to its rare beauty and fineness, has long been employed almost exclusively in the construction of altars for churches. The supply of stone is nearly exhausted and consequently is used sparingly. It was in compliment to Cardinal Gibbons, whose interest in this, as in all other matters connected with his native city, was active and heartfelt, that the Pope consented that this almost priceless

stone should be used to adorn the chamber of the highest legal tribunal in the city which was the seat of the Senior Prelate of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States." [2]

The names on the frieze of this room are a notable list of great lawyers, many of whom were not only outstanding at the Bar but eminent in the halls of legislation and as counsellors of the State and Nation, as attorney generals, and as holders of other high and important offices.

It was no easy task to choose twenty-four names (and there was not space for more). Opinions differed as to the most worthy. For instance, Judge Charles E. Phelps at first thought the name of Henry Winter Davis should be included, as appears from his original letter which I have. And I have a letter from a relative of T. Parkin Scott, the first Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore under the Constitution of '67, earnestly protesting the omission of that name.

There had been before the building of the new Court House other great lawyers, not then living, whose names, had there been space for them, would have been included in the list, and there have been great lawyers deceased since its dedication whose fame would have called for inclusion had they been then dead, such as John P. Poe, William F. Frick, William A. Fisher, Bernard Carter and Arthur W. Machen, to mention only a few.

Having told something of how the names came to be placed where they are, it seems worthwhile to justify their choice by some brief narrative of those so honored. It is manifestly not the time or the place to give twenty-four biographies. What I may say is but the most meagre portrayal. I have, however, in addition to an endeavor to be accurate in statement and that you may glimpse them as they were in life sought to secure portraits, and have finally succeeded as to all. For their reproduction, in lantern slides and their exhibition tonight, I am indebted to my talented friend, Mr. Paul W. Englar, who is an amateur photographer and a valued associate in the Fidelity Trust Company.

As the frieze under the dome in the Supreme Bench Room is circular, the list of names there inscribed has no beginning and no end, but it seems best to take them up substantially in the order of their several births.

[2] John M. Powell in *Baltimore: Its History and Its People* (1912) I, 321.

DULANY, 1721–1797

No one even slightly acquainted with the history of our Bar would question that the name of Dulany is entitled to a place of honor, probably the most pre-eminent place. This name carries us back to provincial times. It is associated with two individuals, the fame of either of whom would have justified inclusion. Of Daniel Dulany, the elder, it is said that he was " as conspicuous among contemporaries as his more accomplished son, and enjoyed a reputation in the province surpassed only by that of his son." But it is Daniel Dulany, the son, for whom the inscription was made. For many years before the downfall of the Proprietary Government he stood without a rival in this colony, as a lawyer, a scholar and an orator, and had among the sons of Maryland no superior. Says one historian:

> We may admit that tradition is a magnifier, and that men seen through the medium and the lapse of half a century like objects in a misty morning loom large in the distance; yet, with regard to Mr. Dulany, there is no room for such illusion. . . . The legal arguments and opinions of Mr. Dulany which yet remain to us bear the impress of abilities too commanding and of learning too profound, to admit of question. [Even the Chancellor of England submitted questions to his award.] Unrivalled in professional learning, he added to all his traits the power of the orator, the accomplishments of the scholar, the graces of the person, and the suavity of the gentleman. Mr. Pinkney himself, the wonder of his age, who saw but the setting splendor of Mr. Dulany's talents, is reputed to have said of him that even among such men as Fox, Pitt and Sheridan he had not found his superior.[3]

If any name in the list is entitled to the appellation *nomen clarissimum* it is Dulany.

CARROLL, 1723–1783

Here, too, we have a name that is illustrious in Maryland. When one hears it as of the time of the Revolution, there springs into mind, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Signer, who was indeed a lawyer of more than ordinary ability. The Carroll, however, who was most in our minds to honor was Charles Carroll, the barrister, born at Annapolis, who died in Baltimore, at his home " Mount Clare " in what is now Carroll Park, a beautiful colonial mansion which he built, and which containing many

[3] Conway W. Sams and Elihu Riley, *Bench and Bar of Maryland* (1901), I, 167-169.

antiques, is now open to the public and will well repay a visit. Barrister Carroll, while now less heard of than his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was one of Maryland's great Revolutionary heroes. On the walls of old St. Anne's Church in Annapolis, of which he was a vestryman, is a tablet dedicated on Sunday morning, November 21, 1937, in his memory, which bears this inscription:

Patriot and Leader in the cause of America's independence — Eminent Jurist and Churchman — President of the Convention of 1776 which gave the State of Maryland its Bill of Rights and First Constitution — Honored by his Country for his outstanding talents and virtues — He lived to see the attainment of his high endeavors — He died respected and beloved.

CHASE, 1741–1811

The name of Chase belongs also to the stirring times of the Revolution, and the founding of the Federal Government and of the government of the State of Maryland, after independence was achieved. Samuel Chase was born in Somerset County. He studied law at Annapolis and was admitted to the Bar at 20. He contributed more to the success of independence than any man of Maryland. He was called the " torch of the Revolution " and was a member of " The Sons of Liberty." It is not, however, as an outstanding patriotic leader, an intrepid member of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, that we honor him, but as a great lawyer and fearless judge. While Chief Judge of the Criminal Court of Maryland a riot occurred, and he caused the arrest of two of its ring-leaders. They refused to give bail and the sheriff feared a rescue, if he undertook to take them to jail. " Call the *posse commitatus* " said Judge Chase. " Sir, no one will serve," replied the sheriff. " Summon me, then. I will take them to jail," the Judge replied. In 1791, Chase was made Chief Justice of the General Court of Maryland.

Chase was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States as Associate Justice by President Washington in 1796, where he served until 1811, fifteen years. In 1804 he was impeached for alleged misdemeanor during the trial of Fries and Callendar for sedition 5 years previously, and for a recent intemperate address to a Grand Jury in Maryland. The impeachment was really an attack by the legislative branch of the Government upon the independence of the Judiciary. The House of Representatives

impeaches, the Senate tries. A two-thirds vote of the Senate is necessary to a conviction, and as this was not received the attempt failed. One author says:

> Zealous, ardent and courageous, Samuel Chase threw his talents, fearlessness and youth into his leadership of the spirit of revolution in Maryland rising against the measures of George III, and his fame survives as a precious legacy of a State prolific in courageous leaders and eminent lawyers.[4]

MARTIN, 1744–1826

Here was one of the most astonishing characters that the Bar of the United States has ever had—a great lawyer, an ardent patriot, a colossal figure in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States and singularly enough, an opponent of its adoption by the State of Maryland. The grounds given in an argument against the proposed plan of federal union are said to be the ablest extant, the soundness of which subsequent events have demonstrated. Martin was of counsel for the defense of Judge Chase in the impeachment trial. His argument in that case has been reported never to have been exceeded " in powerful and brilliant eloquence in the forensic oratory of our country."

So, too, Aaron Burr, who presided in the Chase trial, was tried for treason in 1817 at Richmond before Chief Justice Marshall, Martin was counsel for Burr and exerted all the powers of his splendid genius in securing Burr's acquittal. When Martin had wrecked his life by drink and profligacy and was reduced to poverty, to Burr's lasting credit, the latter out of gratitude took Martin into his home in New York as a guest until he died. This also happened: the General Assembly of Maryland in 1822, passed an act " unparalleled in American history " by which every lawyer in the State was required to pay a license fee of $5 per year, the entire proceeds to be for the support of Luther Martin. No lawyer of the State except one, I believe, who did not present his objection, declined to pay on the ground that the act was manifestly unconstitutional. It was written of Martin that he had a heart full of kindness and a hand that responded in sympathy to those in sorrow.

HANSON, 1749–1806

This is also an illustrious name in colonial and Revolutionary days. John Hanson of Maryland " was President of the United

[4] *Ibid.*, 159.

States in Congress Assembled" under the Articles of Confederation, 1781-1782. His son, Alexander Contee Hanson, became Chancellor of the High Court of Chancery of Maryland at the age of 39, and died in office after a distinguished career on the Bench of over 16 years, in 1806. It was the younger Hanson's fame and his work as a chancellor that was intended to be commemorated in our frieze. One act as an associate judge of the General Court of Maryland, before his chancellorship, marks him as a man of stern devotion to duty. In 1780 seven loyalists were tried before him for high treason in conspiring to release British prisoners of war held in Frederick Town. The trial lasted ten days, and all seven were convicted. In pronouncing sentence Judge Hanson declared: "In view of the attitude of mockery of the accused, and their apparent belief that America dared not punish Tories conspiring against her . . . they ought to suffer to the full the penalty for high treason," and thereat sentenced all seven to be hanged, drawn and quartered.

DUVALL, 1752–1844

Gabriel Duvall was born in Prince George's County, was admitted to the Bar and attained a position among its leaders; became a Congressman, and in 1796 resigned to accept the appointment to the Bench of the highest court of Maryland. In 1802 he was appointed by President Jefferson, comptroller of the United States Treasury. He continued to hold this office until November, 1811, when he was appointed by President Madison associate justice of the Supreme Court. There are no long biographies of him extant, but the fact that he was for 25 years on the Supreme Court of the United States beside Marshall, Story and other great judges, and maintained a high reputation for ability, integrity and independence justified the honor accorded to him.

SMITH, 1757–1842

The Smith here memorialized is Robert Smith. He was a Revolutionary hero, a volunteer at the age of 14. At the close of the war he studied law, was admitted to practice, and settled in Baltimore in 1788; was chosen a Presidential Elector and was the last survivor of that College. He was a Maryland Senator and a member of the House of Delegates; secretary of the navy, attorney general of the United States, and from 1809 to 1811 Secretary of

State. In 1813 he was made Provost of the University of Maryland. He died in 1842, at the age of 84 years.

For the many public positions of importance, usefulness and responsibility which he held, he is entitled to be held in remembrance.

PINKNEY, 1764–1822

This is one of the proudest names in the annals of the American Bar, and the life of William Pinkney, for whom it stands, is an alluring topic. This I dare not undertake. My good friend William L. Rawls, Esq., himself an outstanding member of our Bar, has at my earnest request given me a brief outline of Pinkney's life and his important accomplishments. Compact as it is, I am constrained to omit the reading of all of it, and to justify the use of William Pinkney's name by evidence from one or two contemporaries. Justice Story said: " Never do I expect to hear a man like Mr. Pinkney. He was a man who appears scarcely in a century." Chief Justice Marshall said Mr. Pinkney was " the greatest man I have ever seen in a Court of Justice," " the undoubted head of the American Bar." John Randolph in announcing his death to the House of Representatives said " such a man as has existed may exist again. There has been a Homer, there has been a Shakespeare, there has been a Newton, there has been a Milton; there may be a Pinkney, but there is none now."

HARPER, 1765–1825

Robert Goodloe Harper, for whom the name Harper was inscribed, was by birth a Virginian. His parents emigrated to North Carolina, while he was young. When hostilities ceased in 1781, he attended Princeton College, then settled in Charleston, S. C., where he gained admission to the Bar in one year. Because of conspicuous ability and eloquence, he was elected to Congress where he was a leader of the Federalist Party. The triumph of the Jefferson or Democratic Party ended his Congressional career. Having married Catherine, second daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, he moved to Baltimore and soon became eminent in the legal profession. With Luther Martin and other eminent counsel he took part in defending Justice Chase in his impeachment trial. He also was of counsel for Aaron Burr in the latter's trial for treason. He became a United States Senator from Mary-

land, but resigned because of the demands of his law practice in Baltimore. He was an outstanding public citizen, a defender of Baltimore in the Battle of North Point, a staunch patriot and an eminent lawyer.

KILTY, 1757–1821

William Kilty was another of the great chancellors of Maryland. The office of chancellor of the High Court of Chancery was one of dignity and power created in early times by Lord Baltimore under the charter granted by the King of England. It was not so great an office as that of Lord High Chancellor of England who was and is the greatest peer in the realm, next to the king himself and the royal princes, and presides in the House of Lords. It was, however, patterned upon that office. The Chancellor of Maryland was keeper of the great seal and administered the principles and practice of equity jurisprudence.

Kilty was chancellor from 1806 until his death in 1821, and left a reputation of great ability and learning. As there were no reports of the decisions of the Court of Chancery in that day, few, if any, of his opinions are preserved. He, moreover, conferred a boon on the Bar by his report of the British Statutes in force in Maryland, a task of vast importance. We adjudged him worthy of remembrance.

WIRT, 1772–1834

William Wirt was attorney general of the United States for 12 years, a period surpassing that of any of his predecessors or successors, and by the brilliant performance of the duties of that office he gave it a dignity and importance which it has ever since retained. He was a Marylander by birth, but won his first fame as a lawyer in Virginia, where he became the head of the bar. He first came to the attention of the nation in the celebrated Callender trial, when he was retained at the suggestion of Jefferson as one of the counsel for the defense, and again gained renown as a lawyer and orator in the trial of Burr for treason, where he was for the prosecution.

While Attorney General he took part in the great constitutional cases, such as *McCulloh* vs. *Maryland, Gibbons* vs. *Ogden,* the *Dartmouth College Case,* which are commonly regarded as the most momentous of John Marshall's decisions. He was unusually handsome, of great charm, and was said to be the "most

beloved of American advocates." When Wirt died in 1834 the news was everywhere greeted with keenest regret. No member of the American Bar was held in dearer esteem than William Wirt.

Winder, 1775–1824

William Henry Winder was born in Somerset County, studied law in Annapolis, and began practice in Princess Anne, but in 1802 removed to Baltimore.

By 1812 he had gained such prominence as a lawyer that his name appeared in more than one-third of the cases reported in the Court of Appeals. When the War of 1812 was impending, the appeal of patriotism was too strong to be resisted, and he left his practice to become a soldier. He entered the army and attained by merit the rank of brigadier general. Among other battles, he fought in that of Bladensburg, and in the defense of Baltimore against the British.

When peace came, he returned to the practice of the law, and was soon again in the full tide of professional activity. During the next 9 years, until his death at 50 in 1824, no litigation of importance occupied the State or Federal Courts in Maryland in which he was not occupied. Winder is said to have tried more cases with success than any other member of the Bar, not excepting such lawyers of the time as Taney, Martin, Pinkney, Harper or Wirt. This applies also to the United States Supreme Court.

Famous as soldier, lawyer, citizen, his place in the civic life of Baltimore, and in the affectionate regard of his fellow citizens was attested at his funeral, which was more elaborate than any theretofore conducted in Baltimore.[5]

Bland, 1776–1846

Theodorick Bland was probably the greatest of the chancellors. He was not a Marylander by birth, having been born in Virginia in 1776. Of his early life and education I have not found much. In 1807 he was elected to the Maryland House of Delegates. In 1812 he was appointed associate judge of the Sixth Judicial District, including Baltimore and Harford counties. He was secretary of the Committee of Safety in the War of 1812, and was

[5] For information about Winder I am indebted to my friend, Ralph Robinson, Esq., one of today's leaders of the Baltimore Bar.

WILLIAM H. WINDER

THEODORICK BLAND

JOHN NELSON

WILLIAM KILTY

WILLIAM WIRT

ROGER B. TANEY

REVERDY JOHNSON

JOHN V. L. MCMAHON

WILLIAM SCHLEY

active in the defense of Baltimore in that war. Under appointment by President Monroe he served as commissioner to South America. When he became chancellor in 1824 he gave to the duties of this office such diligent and assiduous attention as has never, in my opinion, been surpassed in Maryland. He not only rendered clear and convincing opinions,—the result of careful examination and research,—but, since in his time there were no chancery reports, he reported and published these opinions for the benefit of the litigants and the Bar in three volumes, known as "Bland's Chancery Reports." They are a mine of learning and information.

TANEY, 1777–1864

There is needed no justification for the use of the name of Roger B. Taney, who was a native of Maryland, a leading member of the Baltimore Bar, an attorney general of Maryland, attorney general of the United States, secretary of the treasury of the United States, and a chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States for twenty-seven years in succession to John Marshall. I had prepared a longer statement as to his immensely interesting career, but I shall not use it tonight for there is no one here who does not know the place of Roger B. Taney in American history. I add only this, that after all the acrimony and bitterness arising out of the Civil War had passed, Chief Justice Hughes declared that Taney was "a great chief justice." We did not err in including the name of Taney.

NELSON, 1791–1860

John Nelson, another of Frederick's great sons, was a United States attorney general, one of the most brilliant members of the American Bar. The reputation handed down to the profession is that he was a man of commanding character, masterful resources, and brilliant professional attainments.

JOHNSON, 1796–1876

The renowned Reverdy Johnson of Baltimore is here commemorated. Of all accounts of him that I have read, and I have read a number, though I know of no long biography, the most pleasing to me is that in an address by a former associate of mine on the Supreme Bench, the late Judge J. Upshur Dennis, delivered

before the State Bar Association at Hagerstown in 1905.[6] This address most strikingly reveals the great advocate. After describing Mr. Johnson's personal appearance, Judge Dennis refers to his almost total blindness in his later years as a result of an untoward accident which occurred while he, as a second, was practicing with his principal, Mr. Stanley of North Carolina, for a duel with Mr. Wirt of Virginia. In the early thirties Mr. Stanley and Mr. Wirt had gotten into a fracas on the race course at a great match race about a horse owned by President Jackson and one owned by Judge Gabriel Duvall of Maryland. In consequence of the fracas a challenge had been issued and accepted. Mr. Johnson fired at a hickory sapling. The bullet, striking it, rebounded and struck Mr. Johnson in the eye, destroying his eye, and the other eye became affected from sympathy.

> Distinguished as was his career as a Senator and Attorney General of United States, distinguished too as Minister to England . . . his highest fame will always rest . . . upon his achievements as a constitutional lawyer. . . . Universally recognized as one of the greatest among the acknowledged great . . . yet, [said Judge Dennis], I entertain the belief that his greatest forte was as a *nisi prius* lawyer. . . . Those who knew him in his prime entertained the belief that at the trial table he never had a superior, if an equal, in this country and it is doubtful if Lord Abinger himself ever surpassed him as a verdict-getter.

Judge Dennis also gives some charming anecdotes of Mr. Johnson's fun and technique at the trial table and concludes with a brief account of his tragic death by falling from the Governor's Mansion into the areaway which surrounds the building. In his partial blindness he had mistaken a window for the front door to the open porch. Falling, he crushed his head. At that time I was a student at St. John's College and well remember the shock and grief occasioned by this catastrophe.

The fame of Reverdy Johnson was national and international.

Schley, 1799-1872

William Schley was for many years one of the leaders of the Baltimore Bar, and one of the most distinguished and successful advocates the State of Maryland has ever had. He commenced practice in Frederick County, and in 1837 removed to Baltimore where he rapidly rose to distinction. In 1836 he was a member of

[6] Published in the *Report of the Tenth Annual Meeting.*

the General Assembly, when the question of constitutional reform created great agitation throughout the State. In the discussions which followed it was reported to Mr. Schley that remarks had been made by William Cost Johnson reflecting upon his actions and ascribing his course to personal motives. Resenting the imputation upon his official integrity, and having no reason to doubt that Mr. Johnson's words had been correctly reported to him, Mr. Schley sent Johnson a peremptory challenge, which was accepted. They met near Alexandria, Virginia, April 13, 1837. There was a single exchange of shots. Both were wounded, Mr. Schley slightly, Mr. Johnson more seriously. Distinguished friends, seconds and surgeons were in attendance. After the exchange of shots, Mr. Johnson in the handsomest manner and of his own accord stated he was aware of the inaccurate report made of his language to Mr. Schley, and that the latter was perfectly justified in basing his challenge upon such report, and that he regretted that he had not felt at liberty upon the receipt of the challenge to deny having uttered a single word reflecting upon or in any way impugning Mr. Schley's motives. The parties were reconciled upon the spot and remained warm friends thereafter. The affair received the name of " the pattern duel," both from the extreme punctilio exhibited by the parties, and the exact observance by the seconds of all the rules and courtesies proper to such an occasion, and from the happy and becoming manner in which the meeting terminated.[7]

As an advocate Schley had few equals.

McMahon, 1800–1871

John V. L. McMahon, who is here remembered, was born at Cumberland in 1800; was a man of brilliant talents, a historian who wrote the best history of early Maryland, a lawyer of extraordinary gifts, one of the finest intellects that ever adorned the bar, and an orator of surpassing ability. It has been said of him that he never lost a case. This sample of his oratory on the hustings is preserved. In the " Log Cabin " and " Hard Cider " campaign of 1840, McMahon was chairman of an immense *ratification* meeting, at which Henry Clay and Webster were present. When he arose he opened the proceedings thus: -

[7] This account is condensed from *Baltimore: Past and Present* (1871), p. 446-447.

Let the nation come to order. The mountains have sent forth their rills; the hillsides their streams; the valleys their rivers; and lo, the avalanche of the people is here.

He drew the incorporation act of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, the first incorporation act of the kind ever prepared in this country. Most of his professional life was passed in Baltimore to which he had removed in 1826. His eyesight failed him in 1855 and compelled him to relinquish his profession. He died in Cumberland in 1871. He was called "the Great McMahon."

ALEXANDER, 1801–1871

Thomas Stockett Alexander was born in Annapolis the 23rd day of December, 1801, and was admitted to the Bar at the age of 20. He gained the reputation of being the greatest equity lawyer that the State had ever produced. He placed the Bar under a very deep debt of gratitude by the preparation and publication of *Maryland Chancery Practice,* a textbook written with an unsurpassed knowledge of his subject, and in language of singular clarity and directness. From the time of the publication of this textbook until the abolition of the Court of Chancery in 1854, he was employed in every important case in that Court. At the age of 66 he seemed to desire a wider field in which to practice, and removed to New York, but he contracted pneumonia in 1871 and died after a brief illness on December 4.

LEGRAND, 1814–1861

Of French ancestry, John Carroll LeGrand first intended to be a merchant, but changed to law, and early demonstrated talents of the highest order. He became Speaker of the House of Delegates at his first term, when elected to the Maryland legislature, was secretary of state for two years; was appointed associate judge of the Baltimore County Court at the age of 30, and was appointed chief judge of the Court of Appeals at the age of 37. He served with distinction until the Constitution of 1854 went into effect and the system of selecting judges by election was adopted in place of selection by appointment. He died December 30, 1861, at the age of 47 years.

Chief Judge McSherry said in a discriminating address on "Former Chief Judges of the Court of Appeals," which he pre-

JOHN C. LE GRAND

THOMAS S. ALEXANDER

JAMES L. BARTOL

I. NEVITT STEELE

JOHN H. B. LATROBE

S. TEACKLE WALLIS

WILLIAM F. FRICK *

JOHN P. POE *

** These two men were among the great lawyers active at the time the Court House was built. Had they not been alive, their names might have been among those honored.*

sented before the Maryland State Bar Association at Annapolis in 1903:

> From among the Chief Justices of whom I have spoken, three stand out in bold relief as pre-eminently great—John Buchanan, John Carroll LeGrand, and Richard H. Alvey. It is difficult to determine which of them ranks the highest.[8]

BARTOL, 1813–1887

James Lawrence Bartol was born at Havre de Grace, and studied law in the office of Otho Scott at Bel Air. In 1836 he was admitted to the Bar. He commenced practice in Caroline County, and for seven years practiced on the Eastern Shore. In 1845, he removed to Baltimore where his reputation as a lawyer increased. He was appointed to a vacancy on the Court of Appeals occasioned by the death of John Thomson Mason in 1857, and in 1867 he was elected to the new Court of Appeals and designated by Governor Ligon as chief judge. His fairness of mind, strict impartiality, calm judicial temperament, readiness to hear patiently both sides and reserve judgment until the case was fully before him characterized his whole judicial career. At the time of his resignation, on account of increasing infirmities, after 27 years of judicial service, his associates wrote to him: "We express the sentiments of the entire profession and of the public and our own when we say that you have performed the work and lived the life of an able, upright and impartial judge."

LATROBE, 1803–1891

Latrobe is a familiar name in Baltimore. Here it stands for John H. B. Latrobe who lived in this city for 88 years. He was not only an eminent lawyer, but was a man of many and various talents. He had unusual skill with his pencil and in earlier life, in order to support himself and aid his family while he was studying law in the office of Senator Harper, he illustrated a series of publications for the well known publisher, Fielding Lucas, Jr., of that day, by drawing and by painting, for he also painted with skill. He had a most retentive memory, and used "scraps of time" as he called them, in accumulating an astonishing amount of valuable information of the most varied character. A vivid biography of him by John E. Semmes, Sr., is most interesting. He

[8] *Report of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Maryland State Bar Association.*

was counsel for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company from 1828 until his death in 1891. He had the distinction of having, on the suggestion of President McLane, examined the invention of Morse, the electric telegraph for sending messages over wires, and advised President McLane to grant to Morse the right to string wires over the right-of-way of the Baltimore and Ohio between Washington and Baltimore, in order to demonstrate the practicability of the telegraph. The wires were strung, and the first long distance message "What hath God wrought" was sent.

I had the honor of Mr. Latrobe's acquaintance, first gained when I was a student in Mr. John P. Poe's office and had occasion to go to the office of Mr. Latrobe on the east side of the building then at the northeast corner of St. Paul and Lexington streets, where the Preston Gardens now are, in order to get him as a regent of the law school of the University of Maryland, to sign the diplomas of the graduates. The memory of these meetings I shall always treasure. My remembrance is of meeting a wise old veteran of the law giving to a youngster just entering the profession cordiality of the most agreeable kind and valuable advice. Mr. Latrobe was not only an author of note in prose literature and poetry, but he also wrote Latrobe's *Justice's Practice,* a book of the greatest value to justices of the peace, constables and lawyers, which passed through at least seven editions. He also wrote a biography of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. And, last but not least, he was a President of this honorable Society 1871 to 1891.

Steele, 1809–1891

I do not think I can do better than tell you briefly what Judge J. Upshur Dennis had to say about I. Nevitt Steele in the address to which I have already referred, "Recollections of a Quartet of Baltimore Lawyers"—Johnson, Schley, Steele and Wallis. After stating that Mr. Steele was a native of Dorchester County, and one of the sons of the Eastern Shore whose fame is a heritage belonging to the whole State, he said: "I never heard his equal in argumentative power." Judge Fisher, than whom there could be no more competent critic, said:

> With the exception of John Nelson, Mr. Steele on his feet was the strongest man I ever heard. Steele spoke with the most perfect forensic diction. If ever a man drew from the "well of English undefiled," it was Steele.

Every word of this encomium, I myself confirm. He was the greatest lawyer I ever knew. Whenever it was possible for me to do so, I went into Court, as did all the Bar, to hear him speak when he was trying an important case, and I do not think I ever heard more clear, logical or convincing arguments at the Bar. I also had the great privilege of a somewhat familiar acquaintance with him in his home. I knew his wife and his handsome daughters and his fine sons.

WALLIS, 1816–1894

That the name of Severn Teakle Wallis could not be omitted from any list of lawyers where great lawyers of the State and Nation are placed *causa honoris* no one will deny who has read Maryland history or listened to tradition. Mr. Wallis was not only a lawyer of consummate ability at the *nisi prius* trial table, but also on appeal. His name appears as leading counsel for plaintiffs or defendants throughout the reports of the Court of Appeals of Maryland and the reports of cases in the Supreme Court of the United States during his long career more frequently than that of most others of his generation. His reported arguments, and the cases in which he was successful in gaining a verdict or obtaining a favorable decree for his clients are irrefutable evidence of his talents.

Mr. Wallis was not only a great lawyer, but he was much more than a great lawyer. He was an illustrious citizen. He was an orator of consummate ability, capable by the strength of his logic, the clearness of his statements, the winsomeness of his diction and the shafts of the ridicule which he could employ, of swaying vast audiences on the hustings. He stood for justice in civic affairs. He was the Sir Galahad of the Bar. Of spotless reputation, armed with righteousness, he was always ready to enter the lists against those who did or countenanced fraud or wrong. He was master of the art of wit and repartee, of scorn and satire, and had command of a diction that was the admiration of all and envy of many. I knew him better than any others on the list, for he was provost of the University of Maryland for many years. It was part of my duty while connected with Dean Poe's office to take him in a carriage from his office on St. Paul street to the theatre where the commencement exercises were customarily held,

and on these occasions I heard some of the most delightful casual addresses to which man ever listened.

Concluding this brief statement as justifying the use of the name of Wallis, I may be permitted to give a single illustration of his graceful speech and his charming eloquence. In addressing a graduating class of law students, he said:

> No, gentlemen, your profession calls upon you for no sacrifice of your best gifts or powers. There is room for all of them within it; there is scope in it for Fancy and her noble sister, Imagination; there is room for Wit and Humor; for Taste and for Grace; and all that is splendid in the mastery of eloquence; all that can influence the human mind and penetrate and control the human soul.

He was also president of Maryland Historical Society 1892-1894.

These were some of the eminent lawyers who through the century and one-quarter prior to 1900 shed luster upon the Bar of Maryland and who are worthy of highest honor and of being remembered as long as the walls of the marble temple of justice, the Baltimore Court House, shall remain, though I crave your indulgent pardon for having detained you too long in telling of them. If I were to give this paper a sentimental title, I think I might venture to call it "Rosemary and Pansies" for Shakespeare makes Hamlet say "Rosemary that's for remembrance and Pansies that's for thoughts."

NEW LIGHT ON THREE EPISODES OF THE BRITISH INVASION OF MARYLAND IN 1814

By Ralph Robinson

I

Origin of the Proposal to Attack Washington and Baltimore

With whom did the proposal to attack Washington and Baltimore in the War of 1812 originate? That it was first suggested by Rear Admiral George Cockburn has been claimed by respectable authority.[1] Cockburn took his station in the Chesapeake in February, 1813, under the orders of Sir John Borlase Warren, who subscribed himself "Admiral of The Blue." This claim in Cockburn's behalf was strengthened when a letter was made available upon the acquisition of the Cockburn Papers by the Library of Congress. Written by Cockburn to Sir Alexander Forrester Inglis Cochrane, who relieved Warren in the fall of 1813 and was using Bermuda as the base for his fleet, this letter will be found in the issue of this *Magazine* for March, 1911, having been supplied by Mr. Louis H. Dielman, at that time its Editor. Mr. Dielman expressed the opinion that it decided the question in Cockburn's favor.

However, since the Cockburn's papers were made accessible, photostatic copies of Cochrane's correspondence have been secured by the Library from the Public Record Office in London, which shed additional light on the Chesapeake Campaign and leave no doubt that the attacks on Washington and Baltimore were first suggested by Cochrane and that the plans for carrying out these projects were submitted by Cockburn after the campaign had been conceived by his superior officer.

This statement is supported by a letter to the Earl of Bathurst written by Cochrane from Bermuda on July 14, 1814. In it

[1] That the expedition against Washington originated with Cockburn is asserted by William James, *Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and America* (London, 1818), I, 276. Color has been given to this claim by Ross in his Report, who "confesses" his obligations to "Admiral Cockburn who *suggested* the attack upon Washington." Ross' report in T. H. Palmer, ed., *Historical Register*, IV (Phila., 1816), Official Documents, p. 148. This statement probably refers to Cockburn's attitude toward the project when these two officers conferred at Upper Marlborough on August the 23rd. See *post*, p. 283.

he mentions sending two turtles to his Lordship,—doubtless promptly to be converted into soup of which the English Naval Officers are reported to have been extremely fond—and a box of arrow root for Lady Bathurst, " who will find attached one of the most approved recipes " for its use. He moreover expresses the wish that his Lordship " will lay his commands upon him in forwarding the productions of the Western World."

He informs the Earl that he has sent about 900 Marines to the Chesapeake to act under Admiral Cockburn, who, he says, " has been annoying the Americans a good deal of late " with his force, making partial attacks and shifting from place to place.

> I trust [he continues] to be able to find the enemy free employment for all his troops in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, without detaching them to the Canadian Frontier. If troops arrive soon and the point of attack is directed towards Baltimore, I have every prospect of success and Washington will be equally accessible.
>
> They may be destroyed or laid under contribution, as the occasion may require. . . . I have much at heart to give them [the Americans] a good drubbing before peace is made, when I trust their northern limits will be circumscribed and the command of the Mississippi wrested from them.

He expresses himself as greatly interested in raising Black Troops for the prosecution of the war, to be afterwards settled in the British Colonies, " where they will be most useful subjects from their hatred to the citizens of the United States." He proposes to use them as dragoons and with this in view, he has directed horses to be collected in the Chesapeake Bay area and put on islands there under British control. The blacks, he declares " are good horsemen, can be made as good as Cossacks and more terrible to the Americans than any [troops] that can be brought forward." [2]

A project for wresting the Mississippi from the enemy had already been suggested by Cochrane in a letter written on the 20th of June, which was communicated to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on August 8th. Two days later a secret and confidential letter was written to Cochrane, in which he was told that an expedition to the " Guelph of Mexico " had been projected under the command of Lieutenant General Lord Hill and aban-

[2] Public Record Office, London, Vol. 141, Part I. Copy in Library of Congress, Div. MSS.

doned, but as Cochrane thinks a blow can be struck with a smaller force, the Lords Commissioners have decided to put "the operation proposed into effect" and Major General Ross "in whose zeal and abilities great reliance is placed," will be "directed to proceed to carry into operation the plan which you may agree upon with him." Reinforcements will be sent to Ross, who had already left for Bermuda, and the expedition will proceed with all dispatch to the Barbados and thence to Negril Roads, Jamaica, where all forces were to rendezvous not later than the 20th of November.[3]

This letter outlined the plans for the expedition that terminated in the battle of New Orleans.

Not waiting for a reply to his letter of June 20th suggesting the Gulf of Mexico expedition, Cochrane, in the exercise of the discretion apparently allowed him by the Admiralty, wrote Cockburn on July 1st a secret letter informing him of the plans for a campaign in the Chesapeake Bay area, beginning with an attack on Washington, and requesting his opinion with respect to them.

It was in reply to this secret letter that Cockburn wrote the secret letter bearing date July 17th, supplied by Mr. Dielman, in which he discusses plans for attacking Washington, Annapolis, Baltimore and Philadelphia. This letter for the information of the reader is epitomized as follows:

He suggests that the Army be disembarked at "the Town of Benedict in the Patuxent" which is only 44 or 45 miles from Washington and between which is a highroad "good, tho hilly" passing through Piscataway about 4 miles from Fort Washington, the only fortification the army would have to pass in its way to the city.[4] He expresses the belief that "within 48 hours after arrival in the Patuxent the City of Washington might be possessed without difficulty or opposition of any kind," and the facility and rapidity, after its being first discovered, with which any army by landing at Benedict might possess itself of the Capital, always a great blow to the Government of a country . . . must strongly urge the propriety of the plan. He considers the seizure of Washington before any attempt

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Piscataway was on the road from Port Tobacco to Washington and about midway between the two places. The more direct route to Washington was from Port Tobacco about 50 miles up the Potomac but this required the use of the Eastern Branch Bridge which, it was conjectured, the Americans would destroy. (See *post*, Note 16), James, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-7. The shoals in the Potomac River known as the Kettle Bottoms which never successfully had been negotiated by the big ships in Cockburn's squadron, offered another obstacle to disembarkation at Port Tobacco.

on Annapolis or Baltimore, the proper strategy, inasmuch as they may be then both attacked from the land side with no great difficulty whereas an approach by ships presents difficulties. Annapolis, he writes " is tolerably well fortified . . . and [is] not to be approached by the larger ships on account of the shallowness of the water " and the time taken to occupy it would, of course, be taken advantage of by the enemy to draw together all the force at his command for the defence of Washington. Baltimore, he declares " is likewise extremely difficult of access to us from the sea [bay] " and cannot be approached by ships drawing sixteen feet of water nearer than 7 or 8 miles, situated as it is 12 miles up the Patapsco. In addition, it is protected by a fort, " a work which has been completed by French Engineers with considerable pains and at much expense and is therefore of a description only to be regularly approached and consequently would require time to reduce," and he adds, " from the moment of your arrival in the Chesapeake, let the plan adopted be what it may, a small force detached to the Susquehanna will always prevent or materially impede the arrival of any considerable reinforcements or assistance from the eastern states."

" If," he continues, " Philadelphia is supposed to be an object of greater importance than the places I have just mentioned, I should deem the landing at Elkton the most advisable mode of approaching it through Wilmington. Such a movement need not prevent the use of ships in the Delaware in cooperation." Cockburn then makes this suggestion: " I should here remark that if Washington (as I strongly recommend) be deemed worthy of our first efforts, altho our main forces would be landed in the Patuxent, yet a tolerably good division should at the same time be sent up the Potomac with bomb ships, etc. which will tend to distract and divide the enemy, amuse Fort Washington, if it does not reduce it, and will probably offer other advantages of importance without any counterbalancing inconvenience as the communication between the grand army and this division [i. e. of ships] will be easy and immediate in consequence of a very small space between the Potomac and Patuxent."

" American guides," he declares, " will not be difficult to obtain in this country when we have the force to protect them and the money to pay them." He has one now in his employ " being both a pilot of the rivers and a guide for the roads in this neighborhood."

This secret letter Cockburn enclosed in another in which he said that after a full consideration of everything imparted by Cochrane, he had determined to move from the Patuxent into the Potomac and ascend that river as far as Leonardtown

which has many valuable stores belonging principally to the people of the Democratic Faction and to ascertain the passage past the shoals in the Potomac named The Kettle Bottoms, which ships ordered up that river last year were not able to accomplish, but which I think is essentially important we should discover. These objects, and knowing the black population, inclined to join us, is more numerous on the shores of the

Potomac than anywhere else within the Chesapeake, make me consider that river as the place best adapted for the moment to offer me the advantages in meeting and advancing the views and spirit of your present instructions to me.[5]

In pursuit of these plans, Cockburn moved at once into the Potomac and raided Leonardtown which, however, escaped destruction because he encountered no opposition from the militia or the citizens.

Carrying his raids over to the Virginia shore, he was there opposed by the militia under General Hungerford. In this he found sufficient excuse for pillaging and burning the towns within the area of his incursions, seizing and destroying vessels and carrying off quantities of flour and tobacco.

His visit to these localities and the vigorous measures pursued, it is said, were for the express purpose of misleading the American people " as to the true and ultimate point of attack; harassing the troops and destroying the different depots of military stores established in Virginia and Maryland to clothe and arm the forces intended for the protection of the Capital." [6]

After the receipt of these letters from Cockburn, the troops under General Ross, intended for the expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, having arrived in Bermuda, together with the reinforcements mentioned by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty in their letter of August 10th, Cochrane sailed for the Chesapeake in his 80-gun flagship the *Tonnant* which before her capture by Nelson in the Battle of the Nile had flown the French flag. With him went General Ross and his staff, except Captain Harry Smith, who sailed a few days later (August 3rd) with the troops in a convoy under the protection of the fleet, commanded by Rear Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm.[7]

Cochrane had two definite policies which he intended to pursue: One had to do with the Negroes. In furtherance of a policy to

[5] Cockburn to Cochrane July 17th. Cockburn Papers, L. C. Div. MSS.

[6] James Scott, *Recollections of a Naval Life* (London, 1834), III, 271. James Scott (later Sir James Scott) with the rank of lieutenant, was an aide-de-camp on Cockburn's staff during the latter's service in the Chesapeake. His " gallant and meritorious conduct " is mentioned in Cockburn's report to Cochrane. Palmer's *Register*, IV, 145.

[7] *Autobiography of Lieut. General Sir Harry Smith*, edited by G. C. Moore Smith (New York, 1902), I, 195. Henry George Wakelyn Smith, known in the annals of the British Army as Sir Harry Smith, was an aide-de-camp on the staff of Major General Ross. See also James' *Naval History of Great Britain* (London, 1859), VI, 174.

enlist and train them as part of his military force, he had prepared and issued before leaving Bermuda, a proclamation inviting them to join his command.[8]

The other was a system of retaliation announced in an order issued at Bermuda on the 18th of July to the senior officer of the blockading squadron which read as follows:

By the Honorable Alexander Cochrane, K. B., &c., &c.

Whereas, by letter from His Excellency Lt. Gen'l Sir George Prevost of the 1st and 2nd of June last, it appears that the American troops in Upper Canada have committed the most wanton and unjustifiable outrages on the unoffending inhabitants, by burning their mills and houses and by a general devastation of private property. And whereas His Excellency has requested that in order to deter the enemy from a repetition of similar outrages I should assist in inflicting measures of retaliation.

You are hereby required and directed to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts as you may find assailable. You will hold strictly in view the conduct of the American Army towards His Majesty's unoffending Canadian subjects, and you will spare merely the lives of the unarmed American inhabitants of the United States. For only by carrying this retaliation into the country of our enemy can we hope to make him sensible of the impolicy as well as the inhumanity of the system he has adopted.

You will take every opportunity of explaining to the people how much I lament the necessity of following the rigorous example of the American forces.

And as these commanders must obviously have acted under instructions from the Executive Government of the United States, whose intimate and unnatural connections with the late Government of France have led them to a system of plunder and devastation, it is therefore to their own Government the unfortunate sufferers must look for indemnification for the loss of their property.

And this order is to remain in force until I receive information from Sir George Prevost that the Executive Government of the United States have come under an obligation to make full remuneration to the injured and unoffending inhabitants of the Canadas for all the outrages their troops have committed.[9]

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[8] The statement in Charles J. Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch of the Second War* (Phila., 1845), II, 159, that Cochrane incited the slaves to revolt against their masters, is without support. Indeed he specifically declared himself in harmony with his Government's direction that such a course should not be pursued. In his letter to Bathurst, July 14th, he wrote "I entirely agree with Your Lordship that no steps should be taken to induce the negroes to rise against their masters. My views as to them are limited to their uses as troops and colonists." Public Record Office, *op. cit., supra.*

[9] *Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier,* by Captain

To this order was attached a secret memorandum authorizing the exception from its drastic commands of " such islands and places which, either from furnishing supplies or being likely to be hereafter occupied by us in furtherance of the objects of the war in which we are all engaged, it may be more advantageous to ourselves to treat with marked lenity and forbearance."

And if, in any descent " it was found expedient to levy a contribution on forbearance of the destruction of property, such a contribution was authorized in proportion to the value of the private property thus spared," it being understood, however, that " the magazines belonging to the Government and their harbors and shipping, were not to be included in this exercise of clemency, but were in all cases to be taken away or destroyed."

This order was issued at the instance and request of Sir George Prevost, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces operating in Canada, and it was prompted by the information furnished him by Sir George Drummond of the burning of the town of Dover on the 14th of May by the American troops under the command of Colonel John B. Campbell, 11th U. S. Infantry, who is reported to have declared it to be in retaliation for the burning by the British forces of Havre de Grace, Buffalo and Lewiston.[10]

The destruction by Campbell of private property having no military significance, had been disavowed by a Court of Inquiry held at Buffalo on June 20th but it is highly improbable that Cochrane had been informed of this.[11]

Cochrane arrived off Tangier Island on August 12th and moved into the mouth of the Potomac to join Cockburn who had made his station there after the marauding expeditions on its shores above

Ernest A. Cruikshank (1896), II, 414. For Prevost's letter to Cochrane, see *ibid.*, II, 402. For an earlier letter (July 30, 1814) from Prevost to Cochrane complaining of the burning of the villages of St. David's and Queenston, by Major General Jacob Brown's troops, see Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, I, 176. Although the correspondence between Prevost and Cochrane can leave no doubt that it was for the destruction of property by the American forces during the campaign of 1814 for which retaliation was requested, the destruction of property when Washington was captured has been claimed to have been retaliation for the destruction of the Government Building by the Americans at York in May, 1813, and also for the destruction of the town of Newark in December of the same year.

A chronicle of the burning of property in Canada by the American forces in the War of 1812 will be found in a bitter letter from the Very Rev. John Strachan of York to Thomas Jefferson January 30th, 1815, printed in the Appendix of *1812; The War and Its Moral*, by William A. Coffin (Montreal, 1864).

[10] Drummond to Prevost May 17th 1814. Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, I, 15. For a list of property destroyed at Dover, see *ibid.*, II, 330-1.

[11] For a report of the Court of Inquiry, see *ibid.*, I, 18.

mentioned. Malcolm passed into the Capes on the 15th and likewise proceeded to the rendezvous in the Potomac.[12]

Here in a conference held by Cochrane and his officers, the suggestions submitted by Cockburn in his secret letter of July 17th of sending ships up the Potomac and to the Upper Chesapeake in connection with an attack on Washington were considered and adopted.[13]

Captain James Alexander Gordon, in command of the Frigate *Sea Horse* with six other vessels including bombers, was sent up the Potomac " with a view of destroying Fort Washington and opening a free communication above as well as to cover the retreat of the Army from Washington."

Fort Washington, also known as Fort Warburton, was located then as now on the western bank of the Potomac twelve miles below Washington and commanded the narrow channel of the Potomac. Up this channel all shipping must pass and no use of the vessels sent up the Potomac could be made by the land forces in retreat with this fort in the enemy's possession.

To the upper part of the Bay, Captain Sir Peter Parker was sent in the Frigate *Menelaus* with several smaller vessels " to divert the enemy in that quarter." [14] Cockburn's suggestion that the army be disembarked at Benedict also was adopted. But his suggestion that Washington be approached from that point by way of Piscataway and the north shore of the Potomac, was discarded.

There were two reasons for this. One was the presence in the Patuxent of Barney's Flotilla, which had made its escape from St. Leonard's Creek, breaking through the British blockade in gallant style.[15]

The second was that an approach by Piscataway would make it

[12] The date of Cochrane's arrival will be found in *Memoir of the Life of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington*, by his daughter, Lady Bouchier (London, 1875), p. 288. Codrington was Cochrane's Captain of the Fleet. The date that Malcolm passed in the Capes is given by George R. Gleig, *Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans* (London, 1836), p. 87.

[13] Smith's *Autobiography*, I, 197, gives the mouth of the Patuxent as the place where this conference took place; but he must have confused the two rivers, as Gordon and Parker were sent off before Cochrane reached the Patuxent. Cochrane's Report, Palmer's *Register*, IV, 138.

[14] Cochrane's Report, *loc. cit.*

[15] A recently written and interesting account of the blockade of Barney and his escape from St. Leonard's Creek, will be found in Hulbert Footner's *Sailor of Fortune* (New York, 1940), Chapter 27.

necessary to cross the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, which, finding its source beyond Bladensburg, emptied into the main river at Greenleaf Point, now included within the limits of the Washington Navy Yard, and on which stands the building occupied by the Army War College. This body of water was not fordable below Bladensburg, and was crossed by two bridges, which, it was assumed by Cochrane, would be destroyed by the American forces.[16]

One of these, known as Stoddert's or Anacostia, was in bad repair and practically out of use. The other, further down stream, known as the Eastern Branch Bridge, gave direct access to Washington through the Navy Yard which at that time extended much further to the east that it does now. It was 1500 feet long with double carriage ways and thirty-feet draws.[17]

These two considerations made an approach to Washington along the right bank of the Patuxent imperative, or as Cochrane reported, Barney's Flotilla " afforded a pretext for ascending the river to attack him nearer its source . . . while the ultimate destination of the combined [British] force was Washington, should it be found that the attempt might be made with any prospect of success." [18]

Cochrane's Fleet, therefore, with the exception of those vessels sent on the missions under Gordon and Parker, left the Potomac for the Patuxent and it was on the evening of the 18th of August that the larger ships " took ground " and came to anchor about two miles below Benedict.

II

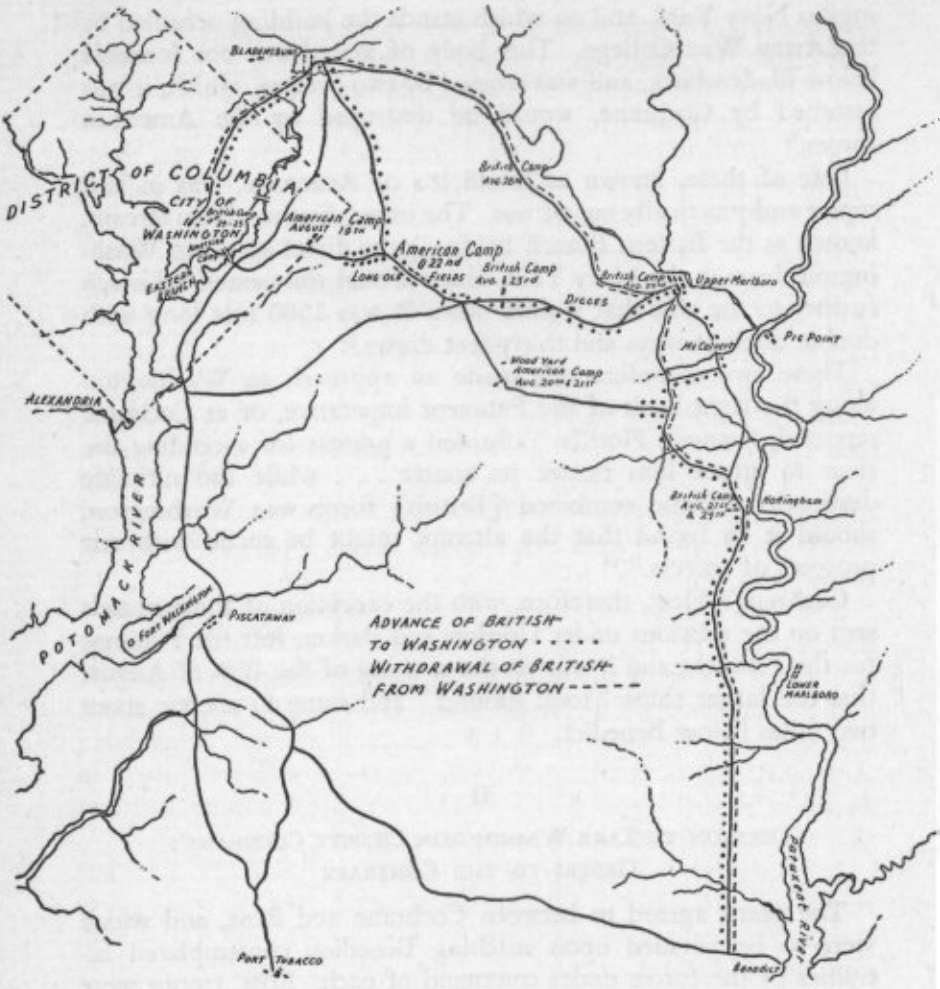
Decision to Take Washington Despite Cochrane's Orders to the Contrary

The plans agreed to between Cochrane and Ross, and which were to be pursued upon reaching Benedict, contemplated activities by the forces under command of each. Ross' troops were to be landed and were to proceed up the western shore of the

[16] Cochrane's Report, *loc. cit.*

[17] These bridges are thus described in a letter from William Tatham to John Armstrong, July 2nd, 1814. Files of the Secretary of War, National Archives, Washingtgon, D. C. The location of the Eastern Branch Bridge is probably that of the Pennsylvania Avenue Bridge which now crosses the same stream.

[18] Cochrane's Report, *loc. cit.*



Map of the Bladensburg Campaign Based on a Map in *Memoirs of My Own Times* by Major General James Wilkinson, published 1816.

Patuxent, while a naval force under the immediate command of Cockburn was to man vessels and boats which were to push up the river, keeping as nearly abreast of the Army as circumstances permitted until contact was made with Barney's Flotilla.

When Nottingham was reached on August 21st it was found that Barney had retired to the upper reaches of the Patuxent beyond Upper Marlboro and had sought a location on its eastern bank near Pig Point, requiring Cockburn to cross to that side. The two commanders now parted company and Ross struck inland with Upper Marlboro as his objective. After a skirmish with the American troops under General William H. Winder, he arrived here in the forenoon of the 22nd, and was rejoined by Cockburn, who after the destruction of Barney's Flotilla, had crossed back to the western shore of the river landing at Mt. Calvert, a few miles below Upper Marlboro.[19]

After a conference between them, it was decided that the attack against Washington, as originally planned, should be undertaken, and the approach through Bladensburg was agreed on.[20] To Bladensburg from Upper Marlboro the British commanders had the choice of two routes. One was a direct connection between the two places.

The other was circuitous. Passing through Battalion Old Fields, where the American Forces were encamped, it gave access to the Eastern Branch Bridge leading directly into Washington, and to points on the Potomac River as well as to Bladensburg. The indirect route was chosen for obvious reasons. It afforded an opportunity of bringing on an engagement with the American Forces at Battalion Old Fields and left their commander, General Winder, in doubt as to Cochrane's and Ross' plans.

In taking the road that led to the Eastern Branch Bridge, they might be attempting to reach Washington by that route; they might be intending to march to the Potomac to join forces with Gordon's Squadron ascending the river or they might be choosing the approach to the Capital by way of Bladensburg—perplexities which General Winder has admitted sorely harassed him as they did also President Madison and the members of his Cabinet who had assumed the role of assistant strategists to the Commander of the American troops.

[19] Cockburn to Cochrane, Aug. 22nd. Palmer's *Register*, IV, 140.
[20] Ross' Report, Palmer's *Register*, IV, 146.

Leaving a marine guard to hold Marlboro, Ross and Cockburn advanced toward the American encampment. They soon encountered Winder's forces which after a skirmish fell back to Battalion Old Fields, followed in the early evening by a withdrawal across the Eastern Branch Bridge into the limits of Washington.

The British proceeded until they reached "Melwood," the estate of Ignatius Digges, about twelve miles from Washington and three miles from Battalion Old Fields. Here on the evening of August 23rd they went into camp without having lost a single man by enemy action since disembarking at Benedict, and that night they saw the sky illumined by the flames destroying Stoddert's Bridge which had been lighted by the American forces.[21]

At "Melwood" occurred an incident of interest and importance which appears to have been neglected by American writers.

Following the decision to attack Washington reached between Ross and Cockburn, the latter had sent his aide, Lieutenant James Scott with a report to Cochrane on the destruction of Barney's Flotilla and of the "intended descent upon the Capital." Upon reaching the Admiral, Scott informs us, a long discussion ensued between him and the Captain of the Fleet, Rear Admiral Codrington. Finally an order was given Scott to be delivered to Cockburn, with the contents of which he was made familiar and which he was directed in case of capture, to "devour."

This order, we are told by Scott, was to the following effect:

> That under all circumstances the Rear Admiral [Cockburn] had already effected more than England could have expected with the force under his orders; that he was on no account to proceed one mile further; but upon receipt of that order, the army was immediately to return to

[21] Ignatius Digges and his brother William appear to have been close friends of George Washington. The "Chateau" mentioned in Gleig's *Subaltern in America* (Phila., 1833), p. 51, may be identified either as "Melwood" or as the home of the Wests at "The Woodyard." Mrs. West was a sister of Mrs. Francis Scott Key. Both were daughters of Edward Lloyd of "Wye House." Edward S. Delaplaine, *Life of Francis Scott Key* (New York, 1937), p. 140.

It was this bridge that John P. Kennedy saw burning and not The Eastern Branch Bridge as stated by him. H. T. Tuckerman, *Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871), p. 77; quoted by W. M. Marine in *The British Invasion of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1913), p. 111. Mahan makes this same error in *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812* (Boston, 1905), p. 345.

The Eastern Branch Bridge was destroyed on the day that the battle of Bladensburg was fought. The British claim to have burned it. Cockburn's report to Cochrane, Palmer's *Register* IV, 145. The Americans claim to have blown it up. *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 567.

Benedict to reembark; that the ulterior and principal objects of the expedition [meaning presumably, that against New Orleans] would be risked by an attempt upon the capital with such inadequate means. The order concluded with a reiteration of the orders to return immediately.

Arriving at Upper Marlboro upon his return, Scott found that the British forces had already started for Washington, leaving a guard to await him. He immediately pushed on and got to " Melwood " at two o'clock in the morning of the 24th. Cockburn was aroused and the order delivered to him, whereupon a conference followed between him and Ross, who declared there was nothing left for them but to return.

But to this Cockburn did not agree, urging that they were too far advanced to think of a retreat.

If we proceed [Scott reports Cockburn as saying] I'll pledge everything that is dear to me as an officer, that we will succeed. If we return without striking a blow, it will be worse than a defeat, it will bring a stain upon our arms. I know their force—the militia, however great their force, will not, cannot stand against your disciplined troops. It is too late, we ought not to have advanced—there is no choice left us. We must go on.

General Ross, who, Scott says, had been apparently much excited, struck his hand against his forehead and exclaimed, " Well, be it so, we will proceed." [22]

It will be recalled that when the British forces left Benedict, the attack upon Washington was to be decided upon after Barney's Flotilla had been disposed of " should it be found that the attempt might be made with any prospect of success." Ross and Cockburn at Upper Marlboro decided that the attempt should be made. Cochrane at Benedict decided that it should not.

While Ross had an independent command co-operating with but not subordinate to Cochrane, no such claim can be made for Cockburn, and thus he appears in the account written by one of his aides as matching disciplinary action for disobedience of orders against the success of an enterprise which he was engaged in forwarding.

Cochrane's conviction that the American forces would not stand against the veterans comprising Ross' troops was matured by his experiences in the Chesapeake. No troops either in Maryland or

[22] Scott, *op. cit.*, III, 279 *et seq.* As this book was published in 1834 when most of the chief actors were living there would appear to be no reason to question its accuracy. Scott died in 1872. Cockburn died in 1853. *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Virginia had been encountered who would stand up and fight the landing parties he had, from time to time, put ashore. One discharge of their weapons and they fled. The behavior of the militia under General Winder at Bladensburg was to exhibit the same pattern.

There is little reason to doubt that Ross and Cockburn were in touch with Gordon's Squadron and that the decision to go on to Washington was made with information as to his progress.[23]

Gordon's ascent of the Potomac had been attended with delays but not those arising from enemy activities. They were purely navigational, and of a character so difficult that when Ross and Cockburn went into camp near Battalion Old Fields on the evening of August 23rd, Gordon was off Point Maryland with Fort Washington still four days ahead.[24]

Breaking camp at "Melwood" at five o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the British advanced along the road to the Eastern Branch Bridge, and through Battalion Old Fields, where the Americans had been encamped.

About four miles from their camp, a road, said to have been little more than path through the forest, ran from the Eastern Branch Bridge Road northerly in the direction of Bladensburg.[25] Instead of turning at once into this road, the British commanders continued on the Eastern Branch Bridge Road, as if in pursuit of the American forces.

The movement, however, proved to be a feint, for having progressed a short distance, they retraced their steps, and turned into the road above mentioned, which brought them out to the highway running directly into Bladensburg from Piscataway and the Potomac River.[26]

It was well they did so, for as anticipated by Cochrane, arrangements had been made by General Winder to destroy the Eastern Branch Bridge should the British attempt to cross it.[27]

[23] Williams says the British command on the night of the 23rd exchanged signals with Gordon's squadron. John S. Williams, *History of the Invasion and Capture of Washington* (New York, 1857), p. 202.

[24] Elers Napier, *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir Charles Napier* (London, 1862), I, 78, where a graphic account of the ascent of the Potomac and the difficulties encountered will be found.

[25] Gleig, *Subaltern in America*, p. 61-2.

[26] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[27] General Winder's "Statement," *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 557.

III

After Capture of Washington Cochrane Decides to Leave the Chesapeake but is Persuaded to Attack Baltimore

The British forces reached Bladensburg about noon on the 24th and immediately thereafter the battle which bears that name was fought and won by them, followed in the evening of the same day by the occupation of Washington and the burning of the public buildings. On the evening of the 25th Ross and Cockburn quietly and swiftly withdrew their troops and set out for the shipping at Benedict by the highway that ran through Bladensburg and Upper Marlboro. On the 29th they were once more in touch with Cochrane's fleet without having encountered any opposition from the American forces.

The troops, however, were suffering from dysentery and while they were recuperating the officers got out their fishing tackle and fowling pieces. The Patuxent, we are told, " abounded in fish. As many as five or six dozen of different kinds were not infrequently taken in nets of a morning and on the shore the woods proved to be full of partridges, quail, hares and above all wild turkey." [28]

The lustre which the destruction of Barney's Flotilla, the victory at Bladensburg and the capture of Washington shed on the British Arms, did not dazzle Cochrane. The relief which he experienced upon the return of the victors to the Fleet and their escape from capture or destruction, was so great that he contemplated no further activities for the time being in the area of the Chesapeake. Cockburn's suggestions as to attacks upon Annapolis, Baltimore and Philadelphia no longer appealed to him. His overwhelming desire was to withdraw.

This is supported by two letters written by him to Bathurst, one on the 28th of August before Ross' troops had returned to Benedict, but with information at hand of the destructive raid on Washington, and one on September 2nd.

In the earlier letter, he requested that four thousand additional troops and marines be sent out immediately in fast sailing ships. " Baltimore may be destroyed or laid under severe contribution," he wrote, " but our present force is not adequate to the attempt without incurring more risk than it would be prudent to do."

[28] Gleig, *Subaltern in America*, p. 99.

He informed Bathurst that he had decided to leave the Chesapeake and try for the reduction of Rhode Island, quartering his force on the country in that locality until the beginning of November. "I have sent a turtle by this vessel," he concludes, "if it survives the voyage, I beg your Lordship's acceptance of it."

Further details of his plans are given in his letter of September 2nd.

> The worst army we have to contend with [he wrote] is the climate—this obliges us to proceed northward; by possessing Rhode Island we will draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter and as they expect the arrival of Lord Hill with a large army, they will consider that the place of rendezvous and New York the place of attack, whose defences are already being looked after.

The neighborhood of the army, he says, will keep the American troops at home and prevent reinforcements to Canada. He hopes reinforcements will reach him before the first of December. He will be leaving Rhode Island by the beginning of November and pointing towards this quarter, i. e., the Chesapeake. Sir Thomas Hardy will remain in the Chesapeake with about 500 marines. This he thinks should keep the Virginians "upon the alert." [29]

The northern campaign, he asserts, will close the middle of December when North and South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana will lie open to attack and he suggests that about 1,000 blacks might be employed upon the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia; Cumberland Island might be seized and inland navigation cut off.

He then proposes to proceed to Mobile and take prompt measures for carrying his troops in boats by Lake Ponchartrain to New Orleans, in which he will be aided by some thousand Indians and by their acquaintance with the locality, and after the fall of that city, he hopes to drive the Americans out of Louisiana beyond the Spanish boundary. All this, he claims, may be accomplished before the month of March and "the keys of the Mississippi placed in the custody of Great Britain." [30]

[29] Sir Thomas W. Hardy, it will be recalled, was the captain of Nelson's ship *Victory* in the Battle of Trafalgar. His ship in the Chesapeake was the *Ramillies*.

[30] Photostats of these letters, taken from the Public Record Office, London, will be found in the Library of Congress, Div. MSS., Vol. 141. These letters and that to Bathurst of July 14th, together with Cochrane's Proclamation, establish beyond controversy that his expedition to the Chesapeake was punitive in character, and negatives the claim that it was part of a grand strategy to strike at the middle of the United States in connection with operations initiated from the Canadian border and from the mouth of the Mississippi. See Gerald W. Johnson, *America's Silver Age* (New York, 1939), p. 92.

Major-General Ross is represented as being in accord with Cochrane's plan not to make an attack on Baltimore at this time. Indeed, his aide-de-camp, Captain Harry Smith, before he sailed for England on the *Iphegenia*, which was sent from the Chesapeake by Cochrane with reports and some of the wounded, claims to have exacted such a promise from him.

This promise, Smith states, was made after he had pressed upon Ross the following considerations:—

(1) We have, by a ruse, induced the enemy to concentrate all his means at Baltimore.
(2) A *coup de main* like the conflagration [at Washington] may be expected once during a war, but can rarely be repeated.
(3) The approach to Baltimore Harbor will be effectually obstructed. ("Oh!" says the General, "so the Admirals say: but they say that in one hour they would open the passage." I laughed. "It is easier said than done, General.") (The passage defied their exertions when tested.)
(4) Your whole army is a handful of men and the half of them are sick from dysentery.
(5) "Your success in the attack on Washington is extraordinary and will have a general effect. Your success on Baltimore will add little to that effect, admitting you were successful, which I again repeat I doubt, and the reverse before Baltimore would restore the Americans' confidence in their own power and wipe away the stain of their previous discomfiture." The General says: "I agree with you. Such is my decided opinion." "Then Sir, may I tell Lord Bathurst you will not go to Baltimore?" He said "Yes." I was delighted for I had a presentiment of disaster.[31]

Cockburn and Lieutenant George DeLacy Evans, Ross' deputy quartermaster general, it is said, were in favor of an immediate attack on Baltimore. If so, their counsel prevailed, for no sooner had the *Iphegenia* sailed than Cochrane and Ross each reversed his decision not to engage in this enterprise at this time.[32]

The reason assigned for this shift in his plans as set out by Cochrane in his Report (written after the failure of the enterprise) was that "The approaching equinoctial moon" rendered it "unsafe to proceed immediately out of the Chesapeake" to act upon the plans of proceeding to Rhode Island as disclosed in his letter of September 2nd to Lord Bathurst above mentioned, and it was now determined to occupy the intermediate time to

[31] Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 206-7.
[32] Smith claims that it was not only Cockburn and Evans who urged an attack on Baltimore but also Cochrane. *Autobiography*, I, 206.

advantage in what he in his Report called a " demonstration on the City of Baltimore, which might be converted into an attack should circumstances appear to justify it." [33]

No record has been found of the date on which Cochrane and Ross reversed their decisions not to attack Baltimore, but it was on September 6th that Cochrane left the Patuxent. After a visit to Tangier Island he went to Blakistone Island in the Potomac. Meantime Cockburn had been ordered to Bermuda and had already made progress toward the Capes which mark the entrance to the Chesapeake when he was signalled on September 7th to return and join Cochrane in the Potomac.[34] Here Cochrane remained until Gordon returned with his squadron which had ascended that river.

The successful completion by Gordon of this assignment deserves high rank in the annals of the British Navy. Not yet thirty years of age, Gordon had already lost an arm and a leg in the service of king and country. Although he had not encountered a hostile shot in ascending the Potomac and was spared an assault on Fort Washington by the cowardice of the commanding officer, who blew it up without offering the slightest resistance, on his return he had to fight off fireships let loose on him by Commodore Rodgers and had to run batteries on the south shore of the Potomac under command of Commodore David Porter, hero of the *Essex* and batteries on the north shore under command of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, hero of Lake Erie. Yet he brought his squadron down the river, not only without the loss of a ship with which he had gone up, but with twenty-one additional vessels captured at Alexandria and loaded with merchandise and supplies taken from the inhabitants of that city. His casualties were seven killed and twenty-three wounded.[35]

From this rendezvous in the Potomac, Cochrane in the *Tonnant* and Cockburn in the *Albion* set sail on the 10th for the Patapsco for which a number of the lighter vessels had already left. It was in the early morning of the 12th that the British forces landed at North Point, followed on the same day by the battle which bears that name.[36]

[33] Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 17th. Palmer's *Register*, IV, 206. A photostat of this report will be found in the Library of Congress, Div. MSS.

[34] Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

[35] Gordon's report to Cochrane. Palmer's *Register*, IV, 160.

[36] Log of the *Albion* for September 10th, Cockburn's Papers, Library of Congress, Div. MSS.

READING INTERESTS OF MARYLAND PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS 1700-1776

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, p. 41)

THE CARROLL FAMILY

The letterbooks of Henry Callister, the well-read planter and tobacco factor whose interests in natural history and literature have already been described, give an insight into the literary tastes and culture of a small Maryland planter. The picture of the reading interests of the planter class as a whole is not complete without a discussion of the private libraries of that relatively small but influential group of wealthy planters who held a position of prominence in the social and political life of the colony. Perhaps the best source for studying the reading tastes of a southern planter is the diary of William Byrd of Westover.[1] Unfortunately, no such mine of information about the daily happenings of a Maryland planter is available. However, the letterbooks of the Carroll family are a most useful substitute.

Of that Irish noble family which provided Maryland with so many distinguished sons during the eighteenth century, the first descendant to arrive in the colony was Charles Carroll, who came in 1688 with a commission as Attorney General. Later that same year, when the Protestant party overthrew the Catholic proprietary government of Lord Baltimore, Carroll's short term as Attorney General came to an abrupt end. Although the Catholics remained in disfavor throughout most of the later colonial period, this man soon acquired property and influence in the colony. In 1711, he succeeded his father-in-law, Colonel Henry Darnall, as Register of the Land Office, and in addition to the lucrative revenues derived from this position, he found his experience invaluable in his subsequent extensive land speculations. Charles Carroll of Annapolis and his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton were descended from this successful planter and officeholder.[2]

[1] Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712.* (Richmond, 1941.)

[2] For table showing Carroll genealogy with the intermarriages with the Darnalls, Digges and Brookes families see J. Hall Pleasants, "Justus Englehardt Kuhn, an Early Eighteenth Century Maryland Portrait Painter," *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society* 46(1936) pp. 243-280.

Dr. Charles Carroll and Charles Carroll, Barrister

Dr. Charles Carroll (1691?-1755), a Protestant representative of the family, came to the colony about 1715 to practice medicine. Soon discovering there were more profitable occupations than medicine he became successively a planter, ship-builder, land speculator and part-owner of a large iron business. Most of his wealth was derived from his land holdings and from his share in the Baltimore Iron Company.

It is not the purpose here to show the gradual growth of his wealth and social prominence in the colony, although this phase of his life has been neglected. The letterbooks which he kept from 1723 until his death in 1755 contain a wealth of material on the economic history of Maryland, together with some information about his reading interests.[3] Like many of the other Maryland planters, he ordered his books directly from England. Apparently he had a large collection of law books which he kept up-to-date by importations from abroad. In 1742, Dr. Charles Carroll gave his London agents directions to send him law books to the value of two guineas and mentioned his special interests:

I must also Desire the favour that with these goods you will favour me by ordering Your Book Seller to Enquire and Procure for me to be sent with the Inclosed Goods The best and Latest Edditions of Any Books of Presidents of the method and manner of Parliamentary Proceedings or Abstracts of such Cases out of Sir Symon Deces or such Authors or other good and Authentick Journals of the Parliament of Great Britain not Exceeding in Value Two Guineas.[4]

Among the subjects which attracted his interest were geography and travel, and, while his son was in England, he had him send back the best books on these subjects. He also directed his London correspondents to send a collection of maps and general books:

Maps of Europe Asia Africa and America of the best and latest Cutts and Largest (2) John Bowles at the Black Horse Corn hill (all Separate).

[3] Extracts from the letterbooks then in the possession of Alexander Preston were published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XVIII to XXVII (1923-1932), and with a few gaps due to missing letterbooks present an outstanding source of information on eighteenth century Maryland. There is no good biographical sketch of Dr. Charles Carroll.

[4] *Maryland Historical Magazine* XX (1925) 177. Dr. CC to Philpot & Lee, 24 Nov. 1742.

Planisphere of the Teristrial Globe latest Cutt.
A Mapp of North Carrolina, by Edward Mosely made in 1743 dedicated to Gabriel Johnson Gov^r sold at the 3 Crowns over against Minceing lane in Fan Church street.
Present State of Great Britain Last Eddition Printed.
The latest and best Eddition of the Perrage of England Scotland and Ireland pray Consult Your Book Seller to have them by the Author.
The best Eddition of Plutarcks Lives in English.
Popes Works.
Dryden's Virgil.[5]

His letters to his son show him to have been an indulgent father whose ambition was that the boy should have every opportunity for advancement.[6] Young Carroll was educated in Portugal for a short time, and then went to England. He entered Cambridge University in 1742, and returned to Maryland four years later. He decided to become a lawyer and, in 1751, he returned to London to study at the Middle Temple. While he was there he frequently purchased law books for his father's use:

I desire you will get the best Edition of Bacons Abridgement, all the Volums that are Extant and send me a Sett of them as M^r Dulany will soon Return The Wigg Spectacles and those Books put into a Small Box will come Safe by him. There is a particular Collection of all the Statutes & Laws against Papists made into a Volum w^ch if you can meet send me the latest Eddition thereof.[7]

Carroll was by no means a brilliant student and his father frequently wrote urging him to apply himself more diligently. Often the father listed books which he would like to see, and asked his son to be on the lookout for interesting material.

I Received your sundry Letters as pr Dates in the Margin and also the Books and Wiggs and the Volume of Bolinbrok Works as also Lord Orrerys Charles Boyle, earl of Orrery Remarks on Swift for which I am obliged and shall be glad to have the Remainder of Bolinbrokes as they are Published and an opportunity offers.

I would not willingly give you any Trouble to do any thing that might divert you from the Main Point, the Attention to your Study; upon which depends your future Credit, nor wo^d I have you undertake any thing that way from others.

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[5] *Ibid.*, XXI (1926) 249. Dr. CC to Wm. Black, 9 Mar. 1744.
[6] See Dr. W. Stull Holt's interesting sketch "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man," in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* XXXI (1936) 112-126.
[7] *Maryland Historical Magazine* XXIV (1929) 258. Dr. CC to his son, 24 Sept. 1751.

If at your Leisure Hours you see in the Print-Shops A good New Planesphere of the latest Discoverys on this Globe shall be Glad you send me one. Anything of this Kind you think worth sending you may get Mr Black to put up with any other things he may be sending to me. . . . By the Marks you have made on Several Books in the Bibliotheca Legum sent me, I make no Doubt of yr Good Choice of Authors as well as Reading & Digesting of them.[8]

Carroll requested his father to send a copy of the Maryland laws for use in connection with his studies at the Middle Temple. He may have asked for the edition of 1718, which was compiled from the revisions made at the order of Queen Anne and contained the basic laws for the remainder of the colonial period. His father seems to have felt that Park's *Compleat Collection,* published at Annapolis in 1727, was the more valuable compilation but he was unable to secure a copy. It was indeed this scarcity of copies of the laws and the imperfect nature of Park's compilation which led Bacon to undertake his well-known revision in 1753. Dr. Charles Carroll's letter was written the year before:

I could not meet with a Compleat Body of our Laws to send you as I intended and have therefore sent you that Old one you desired, wch I hope Judd will deliver safe I think I need not say much on any Head as the main one you are upon is the attaining the Knowledge of the Law that nothing should Divert Your attention from that Point.

I must refer to yr self to make Choice of the best Authors wch I presume are those of Modern Date and as I before observed you are sencible that hear the Councel must be Soliciter and Attorney Therefore Drawing the Pleading is a Necessary Point of Knowledge for the Practice here.[9]

It is strange that among the requests for books which Dr. Carroll sent to his son and his London agents no medical titles were mentioned. From this it might appear that he gave up all his interest in medicine soon after his arrival in the colony.

While young Charles Carroll was in England preparing for the legal profession, John Henry, the second son, was being educated in the colony. In 1745, Dr. Carroll wrote for a set of the classics which his son was to use:

[I] . . request Your favour in precureing your Book seller to get the latest and best Edditions of the following Books and send them in one of Your first Ships comeing this way the cost of which place to my

[8] *Ibid.,* 370. Dr. CC to his son, 24 July 1752.
[9] *Ibid.,* 378. Dr. CC to his son, 22 Sept. 1752.

Account. As the times are Very precarious and many of our ships taken I desire you will send a Second Set of the same Books by an other good Safe Ship coming up to this part of the Bay Your favour will Oblige.
Virgilius in usum Delphini per Lanson
Horatius Ditto
Cesaris Commentarie 8vo Dr. Clerks Eddition
Clarks Nepos
Salnot Suetonius
Terentio in Usum Delphini
Ciceronis Officia Edit. Oxon
Clerks Introduction to makeing Lattin
Kennetts Roman Antiquities Latest Edition [10]

He planned to have this son become a merchant and arranged for him to work in a Philadelphia counting house where he could get practical experience:

Mr. Nicholas Maccubbin wrote you some time Past in Relation to a youth to be Put to a merchant at your Town of Good Repute and in full Business this He Did at my Request as I wanted to Put my son into such a Place to Acquire Knowledge in Mercantile Affairs. If it will suit you to take Him I will pay you for His Board Lodging and Washing and such Instructions as may Be Proper in your Counting House & Store Thirty Pounds Sterg pr Annum for three Years in which Time I Conceive He may Be fit for Business and in the mean time He will Be serviceable to you. I will allso find him in Clothing of all sorts and Pay any Writeing Arithmeticall or Mathematical Masters you shall judge Proper to Instruct Him. He is a Youth of Good Temper, Integrety and Honour for which and Intire Honesty I will Engage. If you accept of this offer I will send Him up as soon as I shall Hear from you which I desire may Be By the Post if no Quicker opportunety as yet have no call to Draw on you for the Produce of my Bills.

The young boy died of consumption a few years later, and this tragic loss was one of the main reasons given by the lonely father when he asked his elder son to return home.

Charles Carroll, Barrister, returned to Annapolis in 1755, only a few months before his father died. Although there are not many references to books in Dr. Charles Carroll's correspondence, the impression one receives in reading his letters to his business associates is that he was a cultured gentleman, well able to uphold his end of a conversation on nearly any subject, and an authority on medicine and law.

[10] *Ibid.*, XXI (1926) 259. Dr. CC to John Hanburry 8ber 1745.
[11] *Ibid.*, XXIII (1928) 167. Dr. CC to Mr. Reese Meredith, 12 Oct. 1749.

The letterbooks of Charles Carroll, Barrister (1723-1783), are almost complete from 1755 to June 1769, and contain many references to books. One of the first things he did after his father's death was to pay up a few debts to tradesmen in London, including nearly twenty pounds he owed a bookseller.[12] He then wrote for " a Complete set of the Gentlemans Magazine from as far back as you Can get them to the Present Time And a Book Called the History of Taxes." [13]

A few years later he wrote his London agent asking him to pick out a gardener who would be willing to come to Maryland under an indenture for five or seven years.[14] Like Governor Sharpe, he had a greenhouse and ordered a thermometer for it.[15] In 1760, he bought a copy of Miller's *Gardening Dictionary.* He sent for the seeds which he could not get in Maryland, though frequently he also failed to find them in London. In 1766, he copied a long list of seeds from Hale's *Complete Body of Husbandry,* and asked his agents to get as many of them as possible. In addition to the various kinds of grass seeds he wanted for planting eight acres of meadowland, he asked for broccoli, celery and beet seeds for his garden. He asked particularly that the seeds be put in the cabin or some dry place, for he had lost a large quantity of grass seed the year before because it had been stored in a damp hold and had sprouted during the long voyage.[16] He used Miller's *Dictionary* frequently and referred to it in describing the variety of peach and apricot trees which he wished to plant in his garden. He said, " The Nusery [*sic*] Man may Look into Millars Gardners Dictionary where he will See the Names of Each. . . ." [17] His wife also took an interest in the garden:

> My wife takes much Pleasure in Gardening and sends you a List of Peaches of Each of which She would be Glad if you would send some of the Stones of those of them than Can be met with Tied up in Different Parcels and the names of Each wrote on the Parcel. . . .[18]

In 1768, his gardener's indenture ended, so he wrote to a merchant in Bristol:

[12] Charles Carroll, Barrister, letterbook, 173. CC to J. Stewart. c. 1756.
[13] *Ibid.,* 175. CC to William Perkins, 21 Oct. 1756.
[14] *Ibid.,* 232. CC to William Anderson, 29 Jan. 1760.
[15] *Ibid.,* 236.
[16] *Ibid.,* 315. CC to William Anderson, 29 Oct. 1766.
[17] *Ibid.,* 327. CC to William Anderson, 20 July 1767.
[18] *Ibid.,* 327. CC to William Anderson, 20 July 1767.

I am in want of a Gardiner that understands a Kitchen Garden well, and Grafting, Budding Inoculating and the management of an orchard and Fruit Trees Pretty well. . . .[19]

He was interested in the agricultural reforms that were being made in England and bought nearly everything he could find on the subject. Among the books which he ordered were:

a new and Compleat System of Practical Husbandry by John Mills Esquire Editor of Duhamels Husbandry Printed by John Johnson at the monument Essays on Husbandry Essay the first on the Antient and Present State of Agriculture and the Second on Lucern Printed for William Frederick at Bath 1764 Sold by Hunter at Newgate Street or Johnston in Ludgate Street.[20]

He also ordered the last edition of Henry Bracken, *Farmery Improved or a Compleat Treatise on the Art of Farmery* and a copy of the *Gardiner's Kallender,* which gave advice as to the best time of the year to plant crops.

Usually once a year, in September or October, when the tobacco vessels left, he sent off his order and received the goods the following spring or summer. The annual letters to his agents in London contain many references to the books he wanted. In 1760 he wrote:

I shall be obliged if you send to Millar in the strand [21] or to your own Bookseller to send me the monthly Reviews by every first opportunity after the Publishing them and any very good Pamphlet when Published but would not have more sent than will amount to about thirty shillings a year w^ch^ Please to pay and Charge me with.[22]

Carroll seems to have enjoyed, more than any other Marylander whose library has been studied, the ephemeral pamphlets of the day on all subjects from politics to the last minute confessions of criminals. In 1764 he reminded his agent not to forget the pamphlets:

I Shall be obliged if you[1] Direct your Book Seller (I hope he is a man of Taste) to Send me in yearly about 15 or 20 Shillings of the Best Political

[19] *Ibid.,* 341. CC to Messrs. Sedgley Hillhouse & Randolph, Merchants, 28 Jan. 1768.

[20] *Ibid.,* 305. CC to William Anderson, 2 Nov. 1765.

[21] Andrew Millar of whom Dr. Johnson said: "I respect Millar, Sir; he has raised the price of literature." See *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1726-1775.* London, 1932. Pp. 171-173.

[22] Charles Carroll Barrister letterbook, 240. CC to William Alexander, 13 Sept. 1760.

and other Pamphlets Especially any that Relate to the Interest and Circumstances of the Colonies or the Monthly Reviews but none of Religious Controversy it is Some Amusement to Learn from your Authors and their works of wit how things Pass with you. He may forward them as opportunity offers.[23]

In 1767 he wrote for two interesting pamphlet collections in addition to his parcel of the best publications of the year:

A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts which were Published in England and America on the Subject of Taxing the American Colonies and Regulating Their Trade in two volum's Bound. A Collection of the most Esteemed Political Tracts which appeared During the years 1763 64-65 and 66 in four or five volumes bound.[24]

He kept an eye on all his accounts and, in 1768, caught the London bookseller in some sharp practices:

My Master Strahon has charged me with two vol^{s} of Reviews for 1767 and has not sent them Another Pamphlet Published in 1766 he has Sent me and with a Pen altered the Date to 1768 I have it not here at the moment now or I would Inclose it to him. Pray tell him that I Expect the Reviews—Besides the Cur has no Taste in his Choice of Pamphlets Let him Know unless I am better Served shall apply to Some other Bookseller.[25]

Judging from his purchases, his favorite reading was a combination of history and agriculture, though he by no means limited himself to these subjects. Apparently he owned a copy of Rapin's *History of England,* probably purchased while he was in England. In 1760, he wrote for the " Continuation of Rapins History of England by Tindall." [26] In 1764, he wrote for the four volume edition of Sir William Temple's *Works* and a four volume edition of Lord Shaftsbury's *Works* containing his letters. He also asked for Lord Molesworth's *Account of Denmark* (1692), Bishop Robinson's *Account of Sweden,* and Geoffrey Keating's *History of Ireland* or " the best Irish History Published." [27] Several years later he asked for D'Avila's *History of the Civil Wars in France* in English, Pompadour's *Memoirs* translated from the French, Tacitus's *History and Annals* and Cardinal de Retz's *Memoirs* in

[23] *Ibid.*, 284. CC to William Anderson, 4 Oct. 1764.
[24] *Ibid.*, 322-3. CC to William Anderson, 24 Feb. 1767.
[25] *Ibid.*, 346. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 21 July 1768. The bookseller to whom he refers was probably William Strahan.
[26] *Ibid.*, 239. CC to William Anderson, Sept. 1760.
[27] *Ibid.*, 280. CC to William Anderson, 20 Oct. 1764.

translation.[28] In 1765, he sent for Voltaire's *Age of Louis XIV* in English and Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws,* and in 1767, he asked for Jean D'Alembert's *Analysis of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws.*[29] He probably owned a copy of Smollett's *History* and, in 1763, he ordered "Smollett's Continuation of his Compleat History of England four or five vol." At the same time he asked for "The Latest and best history of the Establishment, Government Laws & Trade of all the British Colonies in America." He said, "This I leave to Master Strahan's Judgment as I have not Seen Any Character or Account of Any Late Publication. A Book Called the British Empire in America Let Him Know I have lest he should send it in."[30] The book which he had was probably the second edition of John Oldmixon's *British Empire in America,* published in 1741, and by this time very much out of date.

He continued his law studies but apparently did not practice because his business affairs consumed most of his time and attention. His law library, gathered in connection with his studies at Middle Temple, probably supplied most of his needs, though he imported a few additional titles. In 1768, he wrote for "The Act of Parliament to Explain amend and Reduce into one act the Several Statutes now in being for the amendment and Preservation of the Public High ways in England, it was Passed I believe in 1766 or 1765."[31] It may be that he was planning a campaign to improve the roads in and around Annapolis; in a letter a few months later he said, "Our Streets are bad for Carriages at Night."[32]

In contrast to many of his contemporaries, he was not greatly interested in religion. But after his marriage, in 1763, to Margaret Tilghman, he bought a few religious titles. In 1766, he ordered "The new weeks Preparation for Receiving the Lords Supper wrote by the author of the whole Duty of man and Published by the King's authority."[33] At the same time he wrote for Nelson's *Festivals,* and, the following year, he wrote for another title which might be termed a religious book although it contained a good many political implications: "the Spiritual and Temperal

[28] *Ibid.,* 322-3. CC to William Anderson, 24 Feb. 1767.
[29] *Ibid.,* 305. CC to William Anderson, 2 Nov. 1765.
[30] *Ibid.,* 342. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 31 Jan. 1768.
[31] *Ibid.,* 350. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 21 July 1768.
[32] *Ibid.,* 356. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 15 Dec. 1768.
[33] *Ibid.,* 318. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 29 Oct. 1766.

Liberty of Subjects in England in two Parts by Anthony Ellis Late Bishop of St. Davids." [34]

In addition to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the annual consignment of miscellaneous pamphlets, he ordered the *Monthly Review* and doubtless enjoyed selecting book titles from the reviews and notices in it. In 1767 he wrote for:

Monthly Reviews from 1760 to the Present Year from R Griffith Paternoster Row And Send the volum for Each Year after as Published.[35]

The bookseller neglected to send the latest volume, so he wrote again:

Direct your Book Seller to send me in the Monthly Review for this year 1767 as those he sent me Come to December 1766. And to send me the volum Every year to Continue my set.[36]

The classics were not neglected in his book orders from 1755 to 1769, the period for which his letterbooks have been preserved. He bought copies of the works of the two Roman historians, Sallust and Tacitus, to supplement his historical library, and in 1767, asked for Francis's edition of Horace or a recent translation by Duncombe which had been published by Dodsley. He bought Machiavelli's *Political Discourses on Livy,* translated from the Italian.[37]

Judging from his orders, he was apparently at least as much interested in medicine as his father. Among the medical titles he ordered were: Sir John Pringle, *On the Diseases of the Army* and " Account of the most usual Causes of Popular Diseases of the Danger of the Common Methods that are taken before a Physician is Called in and Plain Directions what is Proper to be Done from Doctor Tyssots advice to the People translated from the French of Doctor Tyssot by Doctor Kirkpatrick Lately Published. . . ." [38] Dr. Samuel A. Tissot's *Avis aux Peuple sur la Santé* was very popular in the eighteenth century and went through many editions in the original and in the English translation.[39]

He may have owned a collection of English literature, but, other

[34] *Ibid.,* 339. CC to William Anderson, 17 Nov. 1767.
[35] *Ibid.,* 322-3. CC to William Anderson, 24 Feb. 1767.
[36] *Ibid.,* 338. CC to William Anderson, 29 Oct. 1767.
[37] *Ibid.,* 299. CC to William Anderson, 9 Oct. 1765.
[38] *Ibid.,* 299. CC to William Anderson, 9 Oct. 1765.
[39] *Bibliotheca Osleriana.* (Oxford, 1929). Number 4108.

than the few classics which have been already mentioned, he did not order this type of book from abroad. He did, however, buy Matthew Prior's *Dialogues of the Dead,* a series of four imaginary conversations between prominent people, and Samuel Johnson's *English Dictionary* in a folio edition.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1832), the heir of the Catholic branch of the Carroll family in Maryland, and one of the most distinguished citizens in the colony, was a lover and user of books throughout his long life. Much of his correspondence with his father, while he was studying abroad from 1748 to 1765, has been preserved, together with copies of his father's replies. These letters are filled with interesting references to books and show both father and son to have been appreciative readers of the many books to which they had access.[40]

In 1750, when he was only thirteen years old, he wrote from the Jesuit College of Saint-Omer in France, where he was then studying, that he had "an extream kind master" and that he would endeavor to make himself "a learned man."[41] There was a tender bond of sympathy and understanding between the father and his only son, and in all his letters the older man treated him as an intellectual equal. While living in France he began to read law and in 1757 he wrote:

> I have allmost read the 1st book of Justinian de Institutionibus; I make a little compendium as I go along.[42]

A month and a half later he was still struggling with Justinian's *Institutes*:

> Alltho' the civill Law be a very dry and difficult study, I hope by my application and his assistance to acquire a sufficient knowledge of it in two years time. A Common place book is somewhat different from a Compendium, but a Compendium is more necessary for that part of the law I

[40] Kate M. Rowland quoted some of the Carroll letters in her *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York, 1898). Thomas M. Field published about seventy-five more in *Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and his Father* (New York, 1902). In 1889 a trunk was deposited at the Maryland Historical Society which, when opened in 1913, was found to contain over seven hundred additional letters. Most of these were published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

[41] *Maryland Historical Magazine* X (1915) 147. CC to Papa, 24 Sept. 1750.

[42] *Ibid.,* 156. CC to Papa, 28 Dec. 1757.

at present apply to vd the Institutes. The Institutes are a concinct picture or to speak more planely a most excellent epitome of the whole Roman law; consequently they must be somewhat obscure and difficult. The Compendium I make contains the principal articles and definitions, with some explication and remarks upon the most difficult parts in that work.[43]

He led a retired life, refusing invitations to card games and parties because, as he puts it, "Frequenting thus regularly such company brings on a great loss of time." In a letter written later that year he told his father and mother how he spent his leisure time:

My chief nay my allmost only amusement is reading; I find no conversation more agreable than that of Horace's a Virgil's a Racin's &c. their company is instructive and at the same time agreable, monent et mulcent sometimes I forsake the Poets & prefer to the Mellodious harmony of the muses the profitable and faithfull lessons of History; here I learn to be wise at the expense of others and to attain to true glory by the example of the great good & just. These and such like amusements are now and then interrupted by others of a quite different nature.[44]

Before leaving France he planned to gather a collection of the best Latin authors in the original. His allowance was not enough to cover the cost of the books, so he drew on his father's agent:

Perhaps I shall be obliged to draw upon Mr. Perkins once on this side of the water in order to make a collection of all the Latin Classick authors.[45]

Since he found the classics he wanted would cost nearly a hundred guineas, he decided to wait until he could buy them at more favorable terms. In the meantime, he wrote for a list of the French books in his father's library in order that he would not duplicate them:

I desired you in my last to send me a list of all the french books you have by you. I intend, with your leave, to buy their best authors, as for example Boileau, Rousseau, Voltaire: the later has lately published a new & correct edition of all his works. I proposed likewise by your advice to get the Classicks of the 4° edition in usum Delphini; but as they are so excessively dear (for I am informed they cost about a 100 guineas) I must go without 'em; perhaps they may be had at a better rate in England. It wou'd be ridiculous to have studied Latin 6 years & forget it for want of books.[46]

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[43] *Ibid.*, 157. CC to Papa, 4 Feb. 1758.
[44] *Ibid.*, 221. CC to Papa and Mama, 14 June 1758.
[45] *Ibid.*, 219. CC to Papa, 11 Feb. 1758.
[46] *Ibid.*, 231. CC to Papa, 17 Jan. 1759.

The list arrived several months later and he acknowledged it, saying that he did not intend to buy too extensively of contemporary French literature:

I thank you kindly for the list you sent me of your french books, & the permission you give me of buying such as I think proper; I shall not make an ill use of it; I intend only to buy such as are usefull & entertaining & the most esteemed in the french language, for example their best Dramatick poets and some others as Boileau Rousseau &c. I have all ready bought a fine, new & correct in 4° edition of all Cicero's works by l'abbe d'olivet. The edition in usum Delphine does not comprise all Cicero's works & is not near so much esteemed as what I have.[47]

On September 27, 1759, he wrote that he had safely arrived in England and was ready to continue his legal studies there. He mentioned the fact that he had bought " a good number of french books " and would send a list of them.[48]

He did not formally enter an inn of court to study law, because of the rules against admitting Catholics, but he enjoyed most of the privileges granted to regular members. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to see if he could borrow some of the law books formerly used by his grandfather, the first of the Maryland Carrolls, who had entered Middle Temple in 1685:

As my Grand Father went thro' a regular study of the law in the temple he must have had a considerable number of law books: these I suppose, remain in a great measure in your hands: wou'd it be improper to send me such as are the most useful & necessary? law books are extremely dear: this would save a considerable expense. . . .[49]

The remnants of his grandfather's law library arrived in September of the same year:

The books sent by Capt. Coolidge are safe arrived; those that want binding I shall take care to get bound, those that are double or are of a bad or too old edition shall be sold and replaced by others of a later and better.[50]

To his father's request that he read over the ephemeral pamphlets as they came out and pick out the most significant ones to send him, he replied:

You have laid a very heavy task upon me, but very undesignedly I dare say. I mean the reading of all the pamphlets that make their appearance

[47] *Ibid.*, 239. CC to Papa, 14 Aug. 1759.
[48] *Ibid.*, 240. CC to Papa and Mama, 27 Sept. 1759.
[49] *Ibid.*, 250. CC to Papa, 29 Jan. 1760.
[50] *Ibid.*, 326. CC to Papa, 16 Sept. 1760.

in this town for a day or two, then die, are buried & forgotten. Without troubling myself with the perusal of such nonsense I shall be able to send you those that merit your reading; for such recommended by their own intrinsic value will be talked of by the Publick. There is at present one that has met with publick approbation, and very deservedly; but of this you will yourself be better able to judge after having red it. Its entitled a Letter to two great men.[51]

In May, 1760, Charles Carroll wrote to ask his father if he had read Hume's *History of Great Britain* (1754-1757), saying that if he had not, he had " a great Satisfaction to come or I am mistaken." [52] In March 1761, he wrote:

As Mr Hume is continuing his history of England, I thought it wou'd be better to buy the whole entire work at once than by peace meals: that is the reason of my not sending by the fleet the 2 volu[s] already published. Pray let me have a list of y[r] English books to prevent buying the same books over again.[53]

Typical of the consignment of books for his father was that which he sent in 1764:

Cap[t] Kelly will deliver you this and the following books & Pamphlets: the natural history of Kamschatska: Orme's history of Indostan lately published: the second volume of Warner's Irish history is not yet come out: Gahagan's cannot be had at present there being none in town. Lord Clives letter, 2 numbers of the votes of the house of Commons, the newspapers & one magazine: the royal french Almanack, 6 Pamphlets relative to the Jesuites. . . .[54]

He returned to the colony in February, 1765, after sixteen years' absence. Most of the correspondence between father and son after this date was on the various problems which arose in administering their large plantations and landed interests. There were but few references to books in the letters which passed between them. In 1770, Charles Carroll wrote to ask his son to provide him with some new reading matter:

Pray send me the news Papers by M[r] Ashton & Magazines & Pamphlets if you have any new ones. Do not forget to write to Graves about the Remaining Volumes of Vitruvius Britannicus & to send you M[r] Arthur Youngs 6 weeks Tour thro the southern Countries of England and Wales,

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[51] *Ibid.*, 250. CC to Papa, 29 Jan. 1760.
[52] *Ibid.*, 324. CC to Papa, 16 May 1760.
[53] *Ibid.*, 339. CC to Papa, 28 March 1761.
[54] *Ibid.*, XII (1917) 39. CC to Papa, 21 March 1764.

informing Him th[t] you Have His 6 months Tour thro the north of Ireland in four Volumes. Desier Him also to send you The Maison Rustique there are severall Vols but How many I know not.[55]

The letterbook of Charles Carroll of Carrollton from 1770 to 1774 has been preserved in addition to the letters between father and son.[56] Frequent references to books and his interest in reading show that, although in his correspondence with his father after his return to the colony he did not mention his reading, he was buying books and enjoying them in his leisure time. In 1771, he asked his friend Edmund Jennings to get him a few books:

Has Voltaire published any late tracts, I mean since the year 1768? I have all his works to that time. If he has, you would oblige me by sending them to me, & be pleased to apply to Messrs. P.R. on my account for payment of these or any other late publications you may think worth my perusal. I have Robertson's History of Charles ye 5[th], ye first volume of which I think instructive & entertaining; I can discover no great merit in the others. Has Hume published anything of late? Is it thought he will bring his history of England as low as ye present times? [57]

In 1772, he asked William Graves, a London correspondent, to send him several books and to give him his opinion of the *Modern Universal History*:

Be pleased to add to the books I have already wrote for, & to such as you may think proper to send me, the following: Monsieur Mongault's translation in French of Cicero's letters to Atticus, Paris edition; Ross' remarks on Cicero's familiar epistles, the 4[th] volume of Hooke's Roman History. I bought of Payne the 3 volumes in quarto which were published when I was in England, and to compleat the set I should be glad to have the 4[th]. Pray in what estimation is the Modern Universal History? As it is composed by several hands, I imagine it must be an unequal work, yet perhaps in ye whole worth having. I find it frequently quoted by Blakstone.[58]

That same year he wrote acknowledging a shipment of books from Graves, giving his opinions of the titles enclosed. Among them were *Les Questions sur l'Encyclopedie, L'Evangile du Jour,* d'Auteroche's *Travels* in a beautifully illustrated edition, and Hooke's *Roman History.* He asked his friend to send Mongault's

[55] *Ibid.,* XIII (1918) 63. CC to Charley, 11 Oct. 1770. Graves was probably a merchant. His name is not found in *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1726-1775.*

[56] Published in part in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXII (1937) 193-225.

[57] *Ibid.,* 198. CC to Jennings, 9 Aug. 1771.

[58] *Ibid.,* 212. CC to Graves, 17 March 1772 .

French translation of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus,* Ross's *Remarks on Cicero's Familiar Epistles,* Clarendon's *Life* and *History of the Rebellion,* and the *Modern Universal History.* In reply to his friend's remarks that he might regret receiving the package of expensive books because of the cost they entailed, he expressed his views on book purchasing, which indicate, perhaps more than any other single statement which he made, the emphasis he placed on reading.

It seems you are inclined to think the quantity & cost of the books sent may make me rejoice that your packets arrive only once in 3 years. This I am sure was only said in joke. Money cannot be laid out better, in my opinion than in the purchase of valuable books. You think like me in this respect or why should you lay out yearly £30 in that article? You indeed say that upon reflection you always blame yourself for so doing, because you read less than ever and because your memory is less retentive: read more and your memory will grow stronger. You must blame yourself therefore for becoming indolent, not for purchasing books. Age, I mean your age, is the fittest season for reading: the judgment is then matured, a knowledge & a greater experience of the world enables a man of 40 or 50 to read with more benefit to himself than men under that age usually reap from books. It too frequently happens that men engaged in business and advancing in life, either from multiplicity of employments or from an indolence natural to years, neglect the fittest time for the improvement of their understandings; yet ye jassions of youth, its giddiness & dissipation are equal if not greater enemies to study. The memory and imagination may be, & I believe are generally weaker in men of ye age of 40 than 20; strong memory & strong imagination even in young men are seldom to met with united.

" Where beams of strong imagination play
the memory's soft traces melt away."

and I am inclined to think the memory sooner fails than the imagination, particularly if suffered to grow rusty from want of use: it may be compared when not exercised, to the Senate's degree ag[t] Cataline-*tanquam gladium vagina reconditum,* which we know will contract rust if never drawn. Thus you see I draw an argument for your reading from the very reason you assign as an excuse for not reading. . . . For the future, when you send me any books of which I may have by me ye volumes first published, pray let the others be bound: we have no book binder here; and let the books be lettered. Even tho' ye binding should be different, yet ye lettering will prevent confusion.[59]

[59] *Ibid.,* 215. CC to Graves, 14 Aug. 1772.

Opposite: Facsimiles of portions of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's first draft of the letter of August 14, 1772, to William Graves, in which Carroll gives full rein to his enthusiasm for books. From the letterbook presented to the Maryland Historical Society by Mr. J. Gilman D. Paul.

Dr. Graves 14th. August 1772.

~~I have received~~ All the books mentioned in your letter of the 9th. of last Febry; are come to hand in good condition several of them I have already read, and have met with much entertainment in the perusal of ~~them~~; les questions sur l'Encyclopédie ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ abound

It seems you are ~~of opinion~~ inclined to think that ~~[illegible]~~ the ~~[illegible]~~ quantity & cost of the books sent may make me rejoice that your catchets arrive only once in 3 years — this I am sure was only said in joke — money can not be laid out better, in my opinion, than in the purchase of valuable books — you think like me in this respect, or why should you lay out yearly £ 30 in that article? you indeed say, that upon reflection you always blame yourself for so doing, because you read less than usu & because your memory is less retentive — read more & your memory

In 1773, he asked for several additional titles including Hawkesworth's " account or narrative of ye late voyages into ye South Sea undertaken by Commodore Byron, Captains Wallace and Cook," Milton's *Works,* Lord Lyttleton's *History of Henry II,* Machiavelli's *Works* in English and his *Discourses on Livy,* and Sir John Dalrymple's latest publication. He said that he had received Voltaire's *L'Evangile du Jour* in four volumes, and *Les Questions sur L'Encyclopedie* in seven volumes last year, but he wanted to know if he had published anything since.[60]

In his next letter he acknowledged the receipt of the translation of Machiavelli and regretted that it was not Farneworth's:

I wish you had bought Farneworth's translation of Machiavel: y^e^ style of y^e^ one set is so barbarous & uncouth that I cannot read a single chapter without ennuye generally followed by a comfortable slumber.[61]

In the same letter he started a discussion with his friend over whether or not imagination and memory were separate faculties of the mind and in it mentioned his high regard for Pope:

I will drop this subject to come to y^r^ criticism on Pope. He is my favourite Poet, therefore you must excuse me for endeavouring to defend him from ye imputation of having wrote nonsense where he sings

" Where beams of warm imagination play
The memory's soft figures melt away.[62]

These excerpts from the correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton show his interest in reading from his early school days until he had risen to a position of prominence in Maryland. His later distinguished career was undoubtedly influenced by the habits of reading and study which he had acquired during his school days in France and England.

Occasionally books on agriculture were found in colonial inventories but they were not common. Maryland planters, as has already been pointed out, were faced with the problem of raising a staple crop on large expanses of cheap land with the help of slave labor. Under such a system of agriculture, new ideas on soil cultivation and other reforms were slow in being introduced.

The letterbooks discussed in this chapter contain a few references to books on agriculture. Henry Callister borrowed a copy of Jethro Tull's *Horse Hoeing Husbandry* from his friend Wil-

[60] *Ibid.,* 219-20. CC to Graves, 7 Sept. 1773.
[61] *Ibid.,* 221-22. CC to Graves, 15 Aug. 1774.
[62] *Ibid.,* 222. CC to Graves, 15 Aug. 1774.

liam Carmichael in 1766, probably because he was planning to become a planter. Charles Carroll, Barrister, was familiar with Hale's *Compleat Body of Husbandry*, Henry Bracken's *Farmery Improved or a Compleat Treatise on the Art of Farmery* and Miller's *Gardening Dictionary.*

Colonial cattle were small and badly undernourished, particularly during the winter months when they were kept in the open. Livestock was allowed to run at large and therefore suffered from inter-breeding with inferior animals. This situation also existed in England, but, through the efforts of enlightened gentlemen farmers, a gradual improvement was effected at the close of the eighteenth century. Only a few volumes on this subject have been found in colonial inventories; the earliest discovered was *Animal Aeconomy,* owned by John Crockett of Baltimore County when he died in 1736.[63]

One of the leading figures in the early history of agriculture in the southern colonies was John Beale Bordley (1727-1804). He studied law under his half-brother, Stephen Bordley, and held several important colonial offices.[64] He was judge of the Provincial Court and later of the Admiralty Court and was also a member of the Council. However, his interest lay in agricultural reform and, in 1770, when he came into possession of a plantation containing sixteen hundred acres on Wye Island, he could afford to indulge his hobby.

He farmed his land on a large scale and experimented with the new theories he found in his books or learned of through his correspondents.[65] He grew wheat instead of tobacco and made many experiments with crop rotation. Like Charles Carroll, Barrister, he imported his seed from England. He kept a record of the results of the different methods he used and discussed them with his friends.

In 1785, he was a leader in forming the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture which consisted of a group of " well

[63] His inventory will be found in Baltimore County Inventories for that year.

[64] See J. T. Wheeler, " Reading Interests of the Professional Classes 1700-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXVI (1941) 297 for an anecdote about John Beale Bordley and his brother's law library.

[65] The letterbooks of John Beale Bordley were used by Mrs. Elizabeth Bordley Gibson in her *Sketches of the Bordley Family of Maryland,* Philadelphia, 1865. They are now in the possession of the Shippen family of Philadelphia. Mrs. Gibson wrote that they contained evidence of his general reading of history, philosophy, science, and arts.

informed men of liberal minds." This organization served as a forum where members could discuss their problems. Probably many of the ideas which Bordley included in his published works were formulated during the sessions of this society.

Although the agricultural titles in the footnotes of his studies are often found in an abbreviated form, which is frequently impossible to decipher, these references help to indicate the extent of his reading on this subject. In 1784, he published *A Summary View of the Courses of Crops, in the Husbandry of England and Maryland,* which contained references to *English Common Husbandry* and *English Improved Husbandry of Norfolk.* He published his *Sketches on Rotation of Crops and Other Rural Matters* in 1792. It refers to Mr. Anderson's *Agriculture, Annals of Agriculture* and *Museum Rusticum.* His most important work was *Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs,* first published in 1799 and revised in 1801. It contains over five hundred pages describing crop rotation, fruit culture, cattle breeding, fertilizer, plantations and farm buildings. English and American methods are compared, and the reader is given many practical suggestions. The footnotes to this work are filled with references to contemporary books on agriculture with which many of the more progressive Maryland planters were familiar.

SOME FRIENDS OF "YE FRIENDS IN YE MINISTRY"

By Emerson B. Roberts

George Fox came to Maryland in 1672 to visit among the Friends on both sides of the Bay. While at the head of Third Haven, he was at the home of John Edmonson, wealthy planter and merchant, and one of the earliest Quaker settlers on the eastern shore. Out of his Talbot visit came the first Meeting in Maryland, organized likely in the home of Wenlock Christison. From this came Betty's Cove Meeting with its Meeting House on Miles River, which continued until at "our joint Quarterly Meeting for both shores, held at ye home of Ralph Fishbourne ye 27th day of ye First Month 1683, the Meeting decided upon this greater house, it being unanimously agreed that Betty's Cove Meeting be removed to Ye Great Meeting House." Third Haven Meeting House—"sixty foote long, forty four foote wide . . . framed with good white oak . . . ye roof double raftered . . . and studded . . . well braced" stands today, not only the oldest Meeting House in America, but an enduring monument to those who framed it. Many families who worship there today bear the names of those at the first meeting, the 24th of the 8th month, 1684. It is of some of those first Quaker families in Talbot that we write.

I. The Dixons

The Dixons were identified with Talbot County before 1681, the year "Dixon's Lott" was surveyed for William Dixon. Throughout the centuries they have preserved Quaker ideals; they are connected by marriage with other Quaker families of Talbot—Bartlett, Kemp, Stevens and others, yet prominent in Maryland affairs, and with Christison, Harwood, Ball, Marsh, Taylor, Sharp and Gary—Quaker families whose names now survive only in the records, but whose blood is preserved through the descendants of daughters.

Like several of the other Quaker families the Dixons were first in Calvert, then Patuxent, and probably for some time in the area later to become Dorchester before they came to Talbot.

Robert Dixon is recorded as present by proxy at a General Assembly at St. Mary's, Monday, 5th of September, 1642, "to

consult and advise on matters involving the Safety of the Colony" (*Archives of Maryland*, I, 162). In August of the same year, he, with others, was assessed 30 pounds of tobacco by the Assembly. In a tax statement of the same year he is called "Robert Dixon of St. Mary's County."

Robert Dixon and Elizabeth Dixon "of The Cliffs," Calvert County, appear in the records of that county in June 1675 as witnesses to the will of Richard Evans "of the Cliffs." This Robert Dixon made his will May 1, 1688, though it was not probated until May 21, 1695 (Land Office, Wills, Liber 7, 51). In it he mentions three sons, none of whom is of age. John and Joseph, on becoming of age, are to inherit "Huttson's Clifts," and Robert, at the age of twenty-one is to have "one hundred acres on the eastern shore in the possession of John Edmondson," the prominent Quaker planter and merchant in lower Talbot. There can be little doubt that these acres were in upper Dorchester or in lower Talbot, near the Choptank River, the region in which are to be found the Edmondsons, as well as other families closely related by blood and religious ties to the Dixons. Likely the tract was a part of that Dorchester survey for Robert Dixon, patented to him May 4, 1664, as "John's Garden." It is adjacent to "Cold Spring," surveyed April 16, 1664, for Robert Harwood, another early Talbot Quaker with whom the Dixons had close ties. Robert Dixon's daughters, whom he also mentions in his will, were Elizabeth, Mary, Sarah and Rosamond. All of them appear to have been under sixteen in 1688. His wife was Elizabeth, but the name of her father is not known.

It seems likely, though documentary evidence cannot be produced, that the first Robert Dixon of St. Mary's and Calvert, possessing as he did land in Dorchester and in Talbot, is the brother of that William Dixon, first of the name in the Talbot records.

For William Dixon [1] the Talbot land records show two surveys: "Dixon's Lott," 100 acres, surveyed May 26, 1681, and "Cumwhitton," 200 acres, surveyed January 4, 1684. In the Calvert Papers (Talbot Rent Roll) the latter is recorded to William *Dickinson*, but there can be no doubt that this is William Dixon, for the original papers are yet in the possession of the family.

[1] See Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1939), Dixon of Cumwhitton, County Cumberland.

In 1686 in Talbot, William Dixon was a witness to a deed by John Bayley.

In Talbot land records there is another land transaction by William Dixon, planter. In 1691 he sold to John Edmondson, merchant, one half part of a tract called "Brandford," containing 1008 acres, on the west side of Delaware River and north side of Western Branch, between the Millcheck and the land of William Wilson called "Cambridge." This land had been purchased by William Dixon in 1683 from William Rigeway. William Dixon and John Edmondson sold 600 acres called "Improvement" (presumedly the other half) on Duck Creek to John Howell of England for £40. This land must be in Delaware or in Maryland near the Delaware line.

William Dixon's home was on Miles River, the tracts being "Fausley" and "Ye Ending of Controversie," the site of "The Villa" erected in the 1870's by Mr. Richard France of Baltimore. Dixon is also to be remembered as the first in Talbot to provide freedom for his slaves—long before the consciences of other Quakers prompted them to do so.

By his wife, Elizabeth, whom he married June 4, 1680, as her third husband, and of whom more subsequently will be said, William Dixon had a son, William, born 14th of the 12th month, 1682, baptised 7th of the 4th month, 1701, who died young (Third Haven records). William Dixon's will, dated May 16, 1708, is recorded in Talbot (Liber EM 1, f. 251). In it he refers to his nephew, Isaac Dixon, as "my own brother's son," but unfortunately does not name the brother, leaving us only the inference that Isaac was son or grandson of that Robert Dixon who possessed the 100 acres on the eastern shore and who left his son Robert in charge of John Edmondson. To this nephew, Isaac, William Dixon left land on the Miles and Chester Rivers which has become the nucleus of the estate that continues in the possession of the Dixons. The tracts are "Bennett's Hill," "Dixon's Outlet" and "Ashby Asteemee." In his will he mentions his sister's son, Joseph Ash, and his sister's daughter, whom he calls Elizabeth Watt of Bramton. Also he mentions his son-in-law (step-son) Peter Harwood, who is to heir "Cumwhitton." Of interest is the fact that he left 50 acres, along with some personal effects, to two old Negroes, Mingo and Mimkine. While the will

of William Dixon appears to be a sufficient document, nevertheless a bill was passed by the House, October 28, 1710, confirming the last will and testament of William Dixon (Proprietary Papers I, 1701-1733).

Isaac Dixon,[2] planter, and Elizabeth Harwood, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth Harwood, were married in 1710, their intention being declared in the Monthly Meeting, 28th of the 12th month, 1709, and again on the 30th of the 1st month, 1710, when she was called "Elizabeth Harwood, the younger" (MSS. Third Haven Meeting II, 35 and 36).

Isaac and Elizabeth increased the landed property of the Dixons. At Isaac's death, March 22, 1736, he held land in both Talbot and Queen Anne's. In Talbot, besides "Bennett's Hill" and "Dixon's Outlet," he held the Wenlock Christison and Robert Harwood tract, "Ye Ending of Controversie." His will (Talbot Co., HB 2, 206 and Annapolis, Wills, Liber 21, f. 742 and Accounts, Liber 16, f. 282 and Liber 18, f. 83) records his children:

1. Christopher Dixon, who was born 1722, died unmarried, 1741
2. Isaac Dixon, who was born June 24, 1724, died 1777, married 1747, Mary ———, by whom he had issue presently to be mentioned.
3. John Dixon, who was born 10th of the 8th month 1726, died 1790, married 1757, Elizabeth Kemp, daughter of John Kemp and his wife, Magdaline Stevens, and had three sons, Isaac, John and James, and two daughters, Sarah who married a Wilson, and Elizabeth who married twice, both times "outside the good order," first, August 16, 1791, Edmund Carville, Sr., of Annapolis, and second, William Bryan, Sr., of Talbot and Queen Anne's. The marriage of Elizabeth Dixon to Edmund Carville appears in both the Quaker records of Third Haven and in the Anne Arundel County Court. The Carvilles were Churchmen. The minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting for the sixth, seventh, eighth and tenth months. 1793 record the "going out in marriage of Elizabeth Carville, late Dixon, daughter of John Dixon," and show the granting of a certificate of removal for her

[2] Born 1696, says Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1939).

directed to Indian Spring Monthly Meeting. The record in the Anne Arundel Court reveals the date, August 16, 1791 (Hall of Records, Anne Arundel Marriages).[3]

Edmund and Elizabeth Carville had a family of sons and daughters. The eldest child, a daughter, Sarah, born September 27, 1792, married James Lowe Bryan. Edmund Carville died in the summer of 1812 at his home plantation "Crafford" (or Crayford) on Kent Island. His widow married William Bryan, Sr., of Talbot and Queen Anne's, but by him she had no children. The first wife of William Bryan was Catherine Lowe, daughter of Captain James Lowe and great-granddaughter of John Lowe, of Grafton Manor, and his wife Mary Bartlett, Quakeress.

In 1776 John Dixon was residing in the Mill Hundred of Talbot County. He died intestate in 1790. The inventory of his estate, dated December 17, 1790 (Talbot Co., Liber JGA, f. 260), names his children.

4. Elizabeth Dixon, who married, 4th day of the 10th month, 1735, Joseph Atkinson. Her witnesses were her brothers, Christopher and Isaac (Third Haven Records).

We return to Isaac Dixon, 1724-1777. He married, 1747, Mary ———. Perhaps it was the fact that he was married by a priest (Third Haven Records I, 99) that caused him to be left one shilling by his grandfather, Peter Harwood, in 1756. Isaac Dixon, true to the traditions of the family, added to his acres. With the property that had come to him, he passed to his heirs "Ashby," 800 acres, and "Cottingham," 900 acres, both of which are in Talbot and adjacent to the earlier Dixon estates. Isaac Dixon's will, 1777 (Talbot Co., JB 3, f. 23), records his children:

1. William Dixon, born March 6, 1748, died 1812, married, 1770, Anne Parish, of whom presently.

[3] In passing let it be noted that Dr. Gaius M. Brumbaugh, who has done so much to preserve Maryland records, has made an easily excusable error in transcribing this particular record. In *Maryland Records* he has the name as Edmund Carroll, rather than Edmund Carvoll. Examination of the original, however, (Hall of Records) leaves no doubt. It is not surprising that others, less skilled than Dr. Brumbaugh, in transcribing other Carvoll or Carville records, have made the same error—doubtless due to the almost indistinguishable difference in the two names in script, and to the fact that the eye expects to see "Carroll" in Maryland records in almost every county, while Carvoll is relatively rare.

2. Robert Dixon, born 1757, married Ann Berry, daughter of James Berry, and had a son, James. In his will, November 13, 1781 (Talbot Co., JB 3, f. 65) he says he is of Third Haven Monthly Meeting, and, after mention of his wife and son, leaves some inheritance to his sisters, Elizabeth and Rachel, "provided neither of them accomplish their marriage outside the good order."
3. Ann, born 1752, married ———— Atkinson.
4. Elizabeth, born 1754.
5. Mary, born 1759.
6. Rachel.

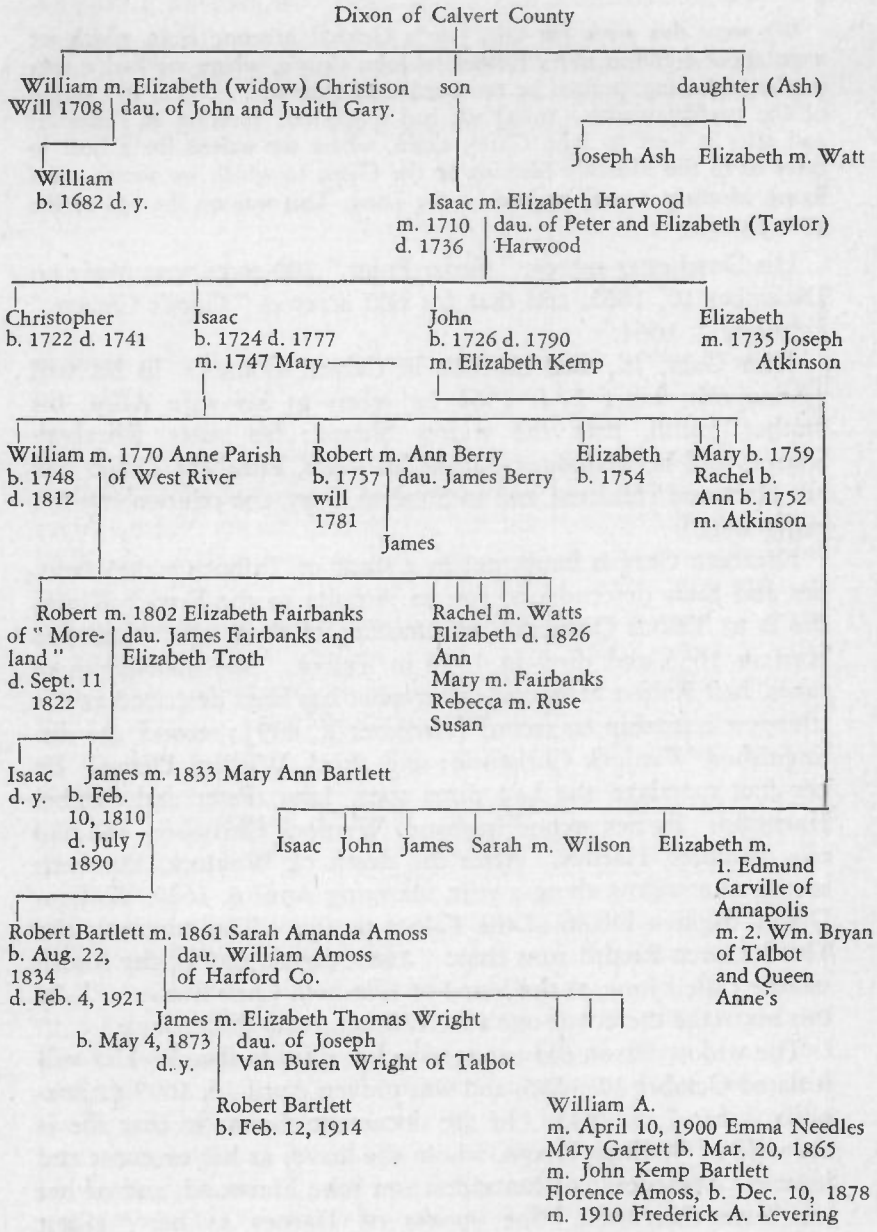
[1]William Dixon, 1748-1812, married 1770, Anne Parish of West River, Anne Arundel County. The marriage was by a priest and for it Anne was disowned on the 30th of the 8th month, 1770. (Third Haven Records, Vol. 4, p. 106, and Vol. 5, p. 222.) Of this marriage there was one son, Robert Dixon, known as "Robert Dixon of Moreland," and six daughters, Rachel Watts, Mary Fairbanks, Rebecca Ruse, Susan, Ann and Elizabeth, who died unmarried in 1826. In her will (Talbot Co., JP 8, f. 312) she refers to her nephew Isaac Dixon, her niece Sarah, and to her sister, Rebecca Ruse.

From Robert Dixon of Moreland is descended Mr. James Dixon, the present representative of the Dixon family in Talbot through the line on the accompanying chart. This Robert Dixon married at Bayside, July 2, 1802, Elizabeth Fairbanks, daughter of James Fairbanks and his wife, Elizabeth Troth.

II. GARY

John Gary came to the province as an early immigrant, but whether he resided first at Patuxent or in Dorchester is uncertain. Whether he was a brother or otherwise related to Stephen Gary, another worthy and prominent Quaker immigrant of 1662 to Dorchester is not certain, but probable. However, John Gary's wife was Judith, and she seems to have come with him into Maryland. There were two children, John Gary, Jr. and Elizabeth, who was born in 1633. The date of death of the elder John Gary does not appear, but his widow, Judith, had remarried before March 6, 1650, Dr. Peter Sharpe, eminent Quaker physician of his day (*Archives*, X, 139).

DIXON OF TALBOT



Of John Gary, Jr., there is the statement of George Fox in his *Journal*—

> We went this week [in 1672] to a General Meeting from which we went about eighteen miles further to John Gary's, where we had a very precious Meeting, praised be the Lord God forever. . . . On the second of the twelfth month [1673] we had a glorious Meeting at Pattexon: and after it went to John Gary's again, where we waited for a boat to carry us to the Monthly Meeting at the Cliffs, to which we went, and a living Meeting it was, praised be the Lord: This was on the 6th of the 12th month.

His Dorchester survey, "Cedar Point," 200 acres, was made on December 10, 1662, and that for 600 acres as "Gary's Chance," February 2, 1664.

John Gary, Jr., died in 1681 in Calvert County. In his will (Annapolis, Liber 2, f. 156) he refers to his wife Alice; his mother Judith, then the widow Sharpe; his sister, Elizabeth Sharpe, and her daughter, Sarah; his sister, Elizabeth Dixon and her Harwood children; and to Stephen Gary, the relationship not being stated.

Elizabeth Gary is important in a study of Talbot Quaker families and their descendants, for, as Argotta to the French Kings, she is to Talbot Quakers, "the mother of them all." She was born in 1633 and died in 1696 in Talbot. She married three times, first Robert Harwood, after what has been described as the strangest courtship on record (*Archives* X, 499); second, the distinguished Wenlock Christison; and third, William Dixon. By her first marriage she had three sons, John, Peter and Samuel Harwood. By her second husband, Wenlock Christison, she had one daughter, Harney. After the death of Wenlock, Elizabeth remained a widow about a year, marrying April 8, 1680, William Dixon, the first Dixon of the Talbot records. The minute in the Third Haven Record runs thus: "1680, eighth day of the fourth month, called June, at the home of Elizabeth Christison. . . ." By this marriage there was one son, William, who died young.

The widow Dixon did not survive her third husband. Her will is dated October 30, 1696, and was proven April 16, 1697 (Annapolis, Liber 7, f. 264). In the document she states that she is the wife of William Dixon, whom she leaves as her executor and legatee. She speaks of her eldest son John Harwood, and of her son Peter Harwood. She speaks of Harney as her "eldest

daughter." It is not apparent, however, that there were younger daughters. Neither the Talbot testamentary records nor the Third Haven register reflect such. In her will she clearly identifies herself by the mention of a tract of 800 acres, "Emergency," located in The Fenwick Colony in New Jersey, purchased by her brother, John Gary. This tract she left to her son, John Harwood.

III. HARWOOD

Robert Harwood appears first in the land records of Anne Arundel County where the survey of 100 acres, "Woolman," is recorded November 26, 1651. Then in September, 1657, Robert Harwood of Patuxent was paid 0100 for going with a message up to Captain Fuller from the Court (*Archives*, I, 365). By 1662 he was on the eastern shore. On April 16, 1664, appears the Dorchester survey, "Cold Spring," 200 acres, for Robert Harwood. Perhaps he was the son of John Harwood whom we find in 1638 in St. Mary's Hundred (*Archives*, I, 29), or perhaps the son of that Peter Harwood brought into Virginia in 1641 by Ambrose Bennett of Isle of Wight County (Greer, *Virginia Immigrants*), or himself that Robert Harwood, aged 17, immigrant to Virginia, 1635 in the ship Safety (Hotten, *Original Lists*, p. 120). These possibilities present an interesting study.

George Fox, on his visit to Maryland, abode at least one night at the home of Robert Harwood. In his *Journal* is this record:

> But on the day following we traveled hard: and though we had some trouble in the Boggs in our way, we rode about Fifty Miles: and got safe that night, but very weary to a Friend's house, one Robert Harwood, at Miles River in Mary-land; This was the 18th of the 7th month [1672].

Robert Harwood died in 1675. His will (Annapolis, Book 2, f. 354) was probated May 27, 1675. In it he mentions his wife and children, but only one son, Peter, is called by name. The family was as follows:

1. John Harwood
2. Peter Harwood, born 1668, died 1756, married July 20, 1690, Elizabeth Taylor, daughter of Thomas Taylor. (For the ancestry of Elizabeth see *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII, p. 280 ff., "Captain Phillip Taylor and Some of His Descendants" by the present writer.)

3. Samuel Harwood, who married in 1710 Elizabeth Troth, daughter of William Troth of "Troth's Fortune."

Peter Harwood, 1668-1756, and his wife, Elizabeth, appear in a land record of Kent County (L. R. No. 8, f. 258) 1719-26, in which they make over to Christopher Hall a certain tract. This record states that Peter and Elizabeth Harwood acquired this tract by the will of William Dixon, late of Talbot County. The witnesses to this instrument are Isaac Dixon and Peter Sharpe, the grandson of old Doctor Peter Sharpe, through William, his son.

Peter Harwood died in 1756, his widow surviving. The *Maryland Gazette* for October 7, 1756, contains a notice of his death: "Talbot County, September 27, 1756. Yesterday died here, after a lingering indisposition of two or three years, Mr. Peter Harwood, in his ninety-fourth year. He was born and lived all his time in this county" (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII, p. 151). His will is recorded in Easton and in Annapolis (Liber BT 2, f. 78). The children were:

1. Elizabeth Harwood, who married, in 1710, Isaac Dixon, of whom we have treated.
2. Robert Harwood, born 1709, married Mary ———, and had issue, one son, James, born 1737, and four daughters, Ann, born 1731; Mary, born 1733; Elizabeth, born 1735; and Rachel, born 1739. Robert Harwood of Talbot County was named in the Assessment Bill of 1760 granting £60,000 for the security and safety of the Province, as one of the Commissioners for Talbot. The bill did not pass so Robert Harwood presumedly had no official service on this account (*Archives*, LVI, p. 288).
3. Peter Harwood, Jr., married Susannah Steward (born Susannah Kemp), September 7, 1744. The will of Susannah, 1751, is recorded (Annapolis, Wills, DD 7, f. 89).

IV. CHRISTISON

Much has been written of Wenlock Christison. There is no thought to repeat here. Most of the printed sources are readily available.[4] The briefest summary of his public life will suffice.

[4] Harrison, *Wenlock Christison and the Early Friends of Talbot*; Bishop, *New England Judged* (London, 1661, 1667 and 1700); Norris, *The Early Friends of*

In 1660 he was in prison in Boston, charged with being a Quaker. Previously he had been at Salem, later at Plymouth. Stripes on his naked body laid on with deliberation, robbed of his waistcoat, his Bible taken for fees, imprisonment, suffering, his friend William Leddra condemned and "hung upon a Tree at Boston for being such a one as is called a Quaker." At Hampton, now within the borders of New Hampshire, he was sheltered by Eliakin Wardel, a Friend, "contrary to law," and Eliakin was arrested and fined. In June, 1664, Wenlock came to Boston from Salem to meet two women apostles and Friends, Mary Thompson and Alice Gary, recently come from Virginia where they had received persecution and indignity. Again in 1665 Wenlock Christison was apprehended on the old charge. Wenlock, with the two women, was banished from the province, "stripped to the waist, and made fast to a cart, and whipped through Boston, Roxbury and Dedham." Wenlock had ten stripes in each town, and his companions six apiece. A period of respite in Rhode Island followed, but at last impelled by what motive, we know not, the three came again to Boston, under some protection of one of the King's Commissioners. Again there was collision with authority, and trial and sentence that Alice, Mary and Wenlock be whipped out of the jurisdiction. Shortly after, all embarked—Wenlock for Barbados, and the two women for the Bermudas, never to return to New England. Uncertain years follow, but in 1670 Wenlock Christison and Alice Gary are in Maryland.

Dr. Peter Sharpe, "chirurgeon," of the Cliffs, Calvert County, and Judith his wife, transferred to Wenlock Christison, August 1, 1670, "in consideration of true affection and brotherly love which we have and bear unto our well beloved brother Wenlock Christison in Talbot County, and also for other divers good causes and consideration we at this present especially moving . . ." one hundred and fifty acres of land, known by the name "Ending of Controversie" (Land Records of Talbot County, No. 1, f. 120). In 1672 the benevolent and wealthy old Doctor remembered Christison in his will, and with him, significantly, Alice Gary, as follows:

Maryland (1862); Forman, "Wenlock Christison's Plantation, 'the Ending of Controversie'" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV, p. 223; Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, and various histories of Maryland.

I give to ye Friends in ye Ministry, namely: Alice Gary, William Cole, and Sarah Marsh, if then in being; . . . Wenlock Christison, and his wife . . . in money or goods, at the choice of my executors, forty shillings worth apiece; also, for a perpetual standing, a horse, for the use of Friends in ye Ministry . . .

Another Friend, Henry Willocks, on the twentieth of the first month, 1670/1 made over a man-servant to him for no material consideration. In October, 1677, there is record of a purchase by Wenlock Christison from John Davis of part of the tract of land called " Ashby," and there is no consideration mentioned in the deed. So Wenlock Christison prospered.

The first Quaker meeting recorded in Talbot was at Wenlock Christison's the twenty-fourth of the first month, 1676.

Wenlock Christison was twice married. In the New England record of him, there is no mention of wife or children. In 1672 Dr. Peter Sharpe in his will refers to a wife. In Births and Burials, Third Haven Records, page 2, is recorded " Elizabeth Christison, daughter of Wenlock and Mary Christison, born 5th month, 13th day, 1673." May Wenlock have married Mary Thompson, his co-sufferer? We do not know. Nor of her death do we know, but the Third Haven Record contains this:

Att our Men's Meeting at Wenlock Christison's the fourteenth day of the 5th month, 1676, Wenlock Christison declared in the meeting that if the world or any particular person should speak Evilly of the Truth, or Reproach friends for his proceedings in taking his wife, that then he will give further satisfaction and clere the Truth and Friends by giving forth a paper to condemn his hasty and forward proceedings in that matter, and said that were the thing to do again, he would not proceed so hasty, nor without the consent of friends.

This refers to his marriage to the widow Harwood, who was born Elizabeth Gary. The censure, doubtless, was for non-conformity in not securing " The consent of friends " in advance of the event. There seems no other inference to draw; there is no other mention of the matter in the records.

Christison had three daughters—Mary and Elizabeth by his first wife, and Harney by his second wife. The eldest daughter, Mary, married John Dine, who once resided upon St. Michael's River, but later removed to Kent Island. In 1684 she sold her portion of the estate she had from her father to Isaac Dixon. Tilghman has suggested that Elizabeth married Peter Harwood, but the

references in this paper show that this is not likely. Rather it seems she married first, Murtaugh Harney of Miles River, and had by him a daughter whose name is not preserved, but who was a beneficiary under the will of Matthew Smith, brewer of Philadelphia. Secondly she married about 1699 Thomas Hopkins. With her second husband she administered on the estate of the first (Annapolis, Account XIX-1/2, f. 109).

The will of Matthew Smith, brewer of Philadelphia, late of Maryland, is dated May 29, 1705 (Philadelphia City Hall, Wills, Book B, p. 433). It is confirmatory of the relationships previously outlined. He says that he was formerly of Maryland. He leaves a bequest of a plantation on Kent Island to the daughter of Murtaugh and Elizabeth Harney, and the inference is that Murtaugh Harney is not living for he provides that Friend Thomas Hopkins shall look after the estate for her until she is of age or is given in marriage. That she was quite young may be further inferred from the fact that in the original will he left a blank for her name, which evidently at the time he did not know and intended to supply later. Then he leaves a substantial bequest of real estate in Bohemia Manor to "Friend Thomas Hopkins and his children by his wife, the daughter of Wenlock Christison." Because of its interest, the author of this article has deposited a photostatic copy of the original of the will of Matthew Smith with the Maryland Historical Society.

> William Dixon informs the meeting yt his Daughter-in-law [step-daughter] is stole away and married by a priest in ye night, contrary to his and his wife's minds; that he has opposed ye same, and refused to pay her portion, for which he is cited to appear before ye Commissary General, and now he desires to know whether ye meeting would stand by him, if he should sue ye priest yt so married her. Ye meeting assents and promises to stand by him in it, he taking ye meeting's advise from time to time in his proceedings therein. (Third Haven Records.)

Whether this refers to the marriage of Mary or Elizabeth is not clear. John Dine, we surmise, was not a Quaker; Murtaugh Harney possibly was, but the marriage may not have been in accordance with the rules of the Society; Thomas Hopkins was a Quaker, and the same remark applies; Harney was, at the time, an infant of tender years.

In 1674 we find Wenlock Christison a petitioner to the Assembly of Maryland in the matter of oaths and affirmations (Ridgely,

Annapolis, p. 60). In 1676, he was elected to the House of Burgesses from Talbot, and in this capacity he served his county and his province, presumedly until his death. Christison died early in the year 1679, for we find that the Half Yearly Men's Meeting, held at John Pitt's on the eastern shore in Talbot, eighth month, 1679, action was taken relative to securing Elizabeth Christison for what legacies were given to John Stacy, his old servant of many years, by Wenlock Christison, " he now being set free " (MSS. Records, Maryland Friends). The will (Annapolis, Wills, Liber 2, f. 89) is dated February 25, 1678, and probated May 20, 1679. In it he mentions his wife, Elizabeth, daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and an unborn child. He mentions his sons-in-law (step-sons), Samuel, Peter, and John Harwood, a daughter-in-law, Elizabeth Harwood, and his brother-in-law, William Sharpe.

In the records of Third Haven, 23rd of the 5th month, 1680, there is inventory of the personal property of Wenlock Christison. His old home, now in ruins, has been given some of the recognition it deserves in the recent article by Dr. Forman in this *Magazine*. Christison deserves a niche in any Hall of Fame.

V. SHARPE

Dr. Peter Sharpe, " Chirurgeon " of Calvert County, was an eminent Quaker. He resided in Calvert though he held patents in Dorchester and in Talbot.

" Sharpe's Island," important as the stepping stone by which the first settlers of Dorchester, principally Quakers, came there from Calvert, 1657 and thereafter, has all but vanished. It took its name from the old doctor, its first patentee. Col. Tilghman, the historian of Talbot County, studied its narrowing confines, and assures us that a century ago it comprised seven hundred acres; in 1848 it was found by survey to contain 438 acres, and a few decades later than that it was so popular as a cool, breeze-swept resort that a hotel of real proportions was built upon it, but by 1900 not a trace of the hotel remained, the island then being reduced to 90 acres. In 1910 its diminishing territory embraced only 50 acres, and today, if one crosses that way, when a westerly breeze combines with a high tide, one will see the seas washing completely over the tiny fragments that remain. And Sharpe's

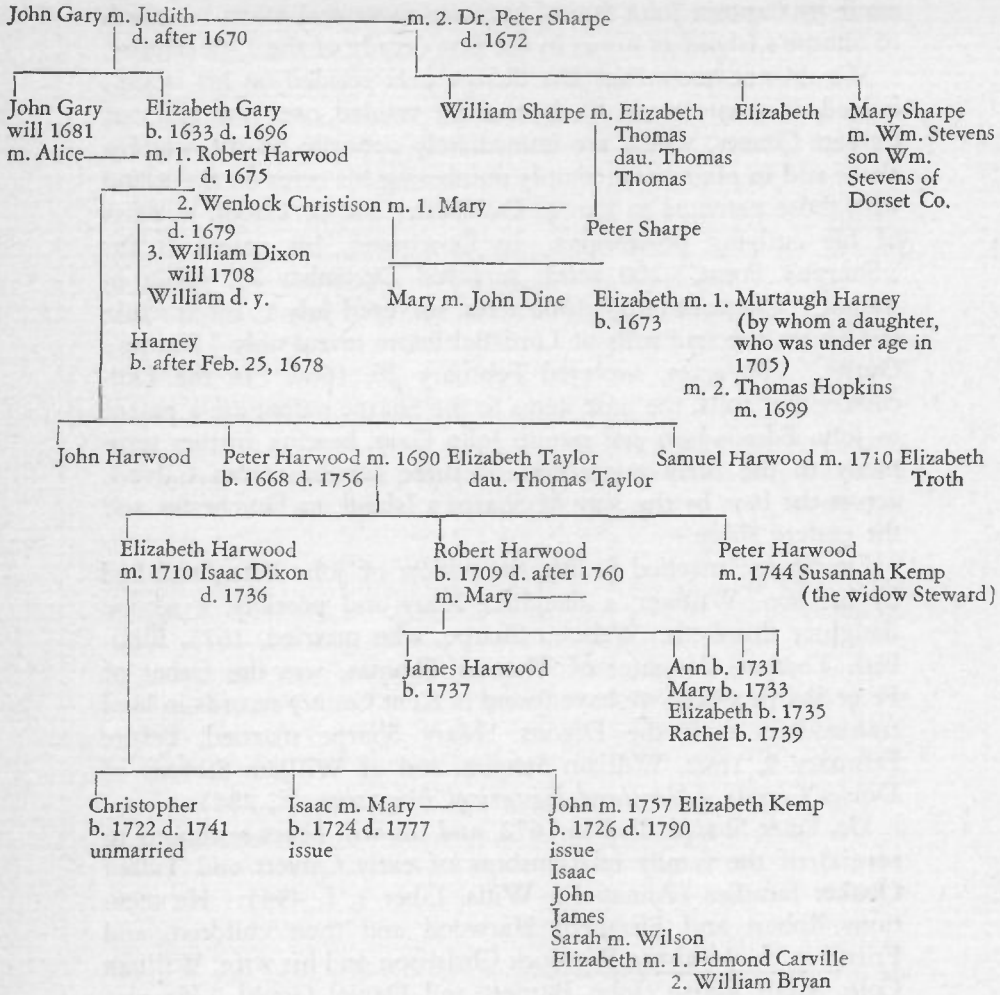
Island, when it was surveyed for the picturesque old doctor, was a handsome estate of more than a thousand acres. It is easy to see with the mind's eye its inviting shores as one looked eastward from the cliffs of Patuxent. Also the map of the Chesapeake, made by Captain John Smith, becomes more real when we think of Sharpe's Island as it was in the first decade of the 17th century.

We do not know that Dr. Sharpe ever resided on his island; indeed, it seems more likely that he resided over the cliffs of Calvert County, which are immediately opposite on the western shore and in plain view, simply numbering his acres on the island with those patented to him in Dorchester and in Talbot, as parts of his outlying possessions. In Dorchester, his patent is for "Sharpe's Point," 200 acres, surveyed December 29, 1662; in Talbot, "Chestnut Hill," 1000 acres, surveyed July 1, 1665; while in Calvert, the rent rolls of Lord Baltimore reveal only "Sharpe's Outlet," 200 acres, surveyed February 26, 1664. In the Dorchester rent rolls, the next items to the Sharpe patent are a patent to John Edmondson and one to John Gary, bearing further testimony to the early migrations of these families from Calvert, across the bay, by the way of Sharpe's Island, to Dorchester and the eastern shore.

Dr. Sharpe married Judith, the widow of John Gary, and had by her son, William, a daughter Mary and possibly, a second daughter Elizabeth. William Sharpe, who married, 1673, Elizabeth Thomas, daughter of Thomas Thomas, was the father of Peter Sharpe whom we have found in Kent County records in land transactions with the Dixons. Mary Sharpe married, before February 9, 1690, William Stevens, son of William Stevens of Dorset County (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, X, 284).

Dr. Peter Sharpe died in 1672, and his will bears testimony to several of the family relationships of early Calvert and Talbot Quaker families (Annapolis, Wills, Liber 1, f. 494). He mentions Robert and Elizabeth Harwood and their children, and Friend in the Ministry, Wenlock Christison and his wife, William Cole, Sarah Marsh, John Burnett and Daniel Gould. He also mentions Alice the wife of John Gary. Nicholas Oliver he calls "cousin."

GARY, SHARPE, HARWOOD AND CHRISTISON



BOOK REVIEWS

Inventory of the County and Town Archives of Maryland. No. 2. Anne Arundel County (Annapolis). Prepared by the Maryland Historical Records Survey. . . Baltimore: The Survey, 1941. Pp. 353. (Mimeographed).

Because of the present national emergency the Historical Records Survey suspended its activities on June 30, 1942, for the duration of the war. During a period of a little more than six years eight county inventories for Maryland were completed, and, in addition, a dozen inventories for federal depositories in the State, a volume devoted to church archives, and a calendar of historical manuscripts. Of the eight counties whose inventories have been published, only Anne Arundel has a venerable past, although Washington and Montgomery were set up as far back as 1776. Therefore, in view of the cessation of further activities, it is unfortunate that precedence in inventorying was not given to some of the very old counties, such as Charles and Somerset, rich in archival treasures. However, for the older counties not yet represented in the collection of published inventories useful, if briefer, inventories or guides are available.[1]

The fact that Anne Arundel, founded in 1650, is the only county with a colonial past represented in the survey to date, gives this inventory a significance even outweighing the intrinsic importance of the records described. But it must be borne in mind that from an archival point of view Anne Arundel is not entirely typical of Maryland counties, as her judicial and land records have been wisely transferred from her county depository to the Hall of Records at Annapolis, where they are housed under ideal archival conditions. As with many venerable counties, Anne Arundel suffered a serious fire in October, 1704, and, as a result, none of the county judgment books save Liber G, containing the records from 1703-05, survived, and only one liber of land records escaped destruction. Since that date the records are complete save for a gap of eleven years from 1723-1734 and a partial gap from 1774-1776.

In addition to the court and land records transferred to the Hall of Records, the early municipal records of Annapolis have also been deposited there, including the interesting proceedings of the mayor's court, of considerable importance for the light they shed upon the administrative and social history of Anne Arundel County. As distinguished from this material on deposit at the Hall of Records, the remainder of the county archives are in the main in the county courthouse. Of this depository the inventory reports that, except for the record room of the clerk of the court and the register of wills, facilities for research are " minimal."

All of the published Maryland county inventories contain valuable historical sketches, accounts of governmental organization and the record

[1] See Mr. Scisco's inventories in *The Maryland Historical Magazine*. See also R. B. Morris, " Early American Court Records: A Publication Program." *Anglo-American Legal History Series*, I, No. 4 (New York, 1941).

systems of the respective counties, and a detailed analysis of the housing, care, and accessibility of the records. Whether or not Federal funds will permit the resumption at some future date of these local inventory projects, it should be of deep concern to Marylanders to see that proper and full inventories are available for all the older counties of the state. Only in this way will substandard archival conditions for housing inactive records, such as those which only recently prevailed at the old courthouse at Elkton, be raised. A fuller knowledge of the rich storehouse of archives within the boundaries of the State should strengthen the resolve on the part of all Marylanders that the inactive records of the counties be transferred as speedily as possible to the far safer and, in fact, virtually ideal quarters provided for them at the Hall of Records.

RICHARD B. MORRIS

The College of the City of New York

The Old South; The Founding of American Civilization. By THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER. New York: Scribner, 1942. 364 pp. $3.50.

In this work Professor Wertenbaker gives us the benefit of life-long studies covering the South; and because he has set forth the story of more or less forgotten groups, any brief review emphasizing this point could easily create the impression that these groups played the more prominent role, which is hardly the impression the author would convey; in fact, the comprehensiveness of his exposition is indicated in the chapter title "Manor House and Cottage."

With respect to the "Manor House" there is an important resumé of the "Intellectual Life of the Tobacco Aristocrat"—a heading that is apparently contradictory to one of the author's theses that undue stress has sometimes been laid upon "aristocracy" in general. In any event, this chapter offers perhaps the most convincing explanation of how Southern planters came to contribute so preponderantly to the democratic leadership of the federal republic—a contribution that covered a period beginning with the united action of the colonies and extending over several decades following the promulgation of the federal constitution.

The secret of this leadership may well have rested in the planters' study of the past. They profited by absorbing the lessons of the centuries of human progress, even though much of this learning might now be regarded as "impractical." Familiarity with Greek and Latin was a requirement of the "tobacco aristocrat," and Professor Wertenbaker mentions the not unjustified irritation felt by Mrs. William Byrd because her husband sometimes preferred to converse with guests in the language of Caesar and Cicero—reminding this reviewer of an experience in Virginia when he, but recently graduated, lunched with an aging Court House clerk who quoted Latin classics at length, together with English poets and essayists of the Elizabethan and Addisonian periods. Investigation showed that the clerk had been born and bred to a "manor house" library inherited from just such ancestors as would have conversed in Latin and quoted Greek!

Professor Wertenbaker discloses that "The library of John Mercer, noted as the preceptor of George Mason, contained no less than five hundred volumes on law." It was natural, therefore, for Mason to know much about this subject, but it is hardly excusable for a distinguished writer, in a D. A. B. sketch of another Virginian, to identify (*sic*) George Mason as "a lawyer of Virginia," especially as Mason had resigned from a nationally important committee on the ground that he was not a lawyer. Doubtless it is correct to say that Mercer is *noted* for his tutorship of a gifted pupil, but judging by the blunder in the biographical sketch, the reason for his distinction is little *known*, even by the illuminati.

References to the scientific interests of the Southern planters may surprise most historians, since apparently these interests are not recorded in standard histories; for example: "Among the Virginians and Marylanders who contributed their bit to science were John Page, of Rosewell, who invented an instrument to measure the fall of rain and snow, calculated an eclipse of the sun and suggested the identity of electricity and magnetism" . . . and in Maryland "Lloyd Dulaney entertained his friends with electrical experiments."

Having offered many little known facts about the Tidewater planters, the author proceeds to describe less noted classes everywhere, together with the religious and racial groups that show the South in its varied manifestations. The story of the frontier Scotch-Irish is set forth beside the considerable contributions made by the German migration that still serves to differentiate parts of western Maryland and the Virginia Valley. In the chapter "Tuckahoe and Cohee" one finds such interest-provoking topics as "The Clash of Civilizations," "The Land of the Log Cabin," "The Moravian Town of Salem"—and incidentally it may here be noted that Williamsburg is not the only restoration project well done in Virginia, for in perhaps an equally ingenious manner, though on a much smaller scale, at Walnut Grove, the Valley home of Cyrus Hall McCormick, the blacksmith shop, where he made the reaper that subsequently revolutionized agriculture, the old grist mill, and the slave quarters have been painstakingly restored.

The Old South presents a panorama, not of the politically "solid South" of post-bellum days, but of the variations of an elder time. The volume is scholarly in matters of research and citation, besides being readable in style, with numerous illustrations. Sundry historians have, it seems, put out their most valuable work first; but in this his latest product Professor Wertenbaker has given us his best.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

Robert Walsh: His Story. By SISTER M. FREDERICK LOCHEMES. New York: American Irish Historical Society, 1941. 258 pp. $2.50.

Robert Walsh was born in Baltimore, probably on Market (now Baltimore) Street on August 30th, 1784. He is so little known to present day Baltimoreans that I have never seen any mention of him in Baltimore publications. In the first half of the nineteenth century he was probably the only literary man, born in Baltimore, who was widely known in inter-

national literary circles. He was the friend, associate and correspondent of all the well known statesmen and literary figures of the time, both here and abroad. His first book, *A Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government*, was published in Baltimore in 1810, and although his early life and part of his education belong to Baltimore, most of his life was spent in Philadelphia, then the literary capital of the nation, or abroad.

Robert Walsh, Sr., was a prominent man in early Baltimore, a shipowner and importer, a large land owner, a municipal officer in various capacities, a trustee of the Cathedral, and a close friend of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Robert Goodloe Harper and Bishop Carroll. He had ten children, of whom Robert was the eldest.

Robert, Jr., was educated first at Georgetown and then at our own St. Mary's College (now Seminary) from which he graduated in 1806 *in absentia*, due to the fact that ill health compelled him to take a trip to the Sulphur Springs before the commencement. During his stay at Georgetown he had two unique experiences. At the age of twelve he delivered an address in person to George Washington. On Washington's death he again represented the student body at the "Washington Memorial Service" by delivering the eulogium before a large assembly.

The trip to the Springs started his Philadelphia connections, and a tour in 1806 through France and Holland and a two years' residence in England, with excursions into Ireland, Scotland and Wales, started his foreign associations and gave him the material for the book mentioned above.

Walsh studied law under General Harper, continued his writing and by 1818 became so famous that he was offered the chair of moral philosophy and political economy in the University of Maryland. He declined this offer, due to pressing literary work during the winter of 1817-1818, which he spent in Baltimore. Thereafter he removed to Philadelphia.

In 1819 he started his "Paper war" against England, attacking the misrepresentations of the United States in various accounts by British subjects of their travels in our country. The author calls Walsh's efforts a one-man "revolution" and it must be admitted that he made a good job of it. Walsh's book, *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States*, Philadelphia, 1819, received wide press comment both here and abroad. Letters of praise were received from Jefferson, Madison and others. Jefferson said the appeal "would furnish the first volume of every future American History" and Madison suggested that the preface be translated into various European tongues, saying "Good translations of the preface alone could not but open many eyes which have been blinded by prejudices against this country." John Adams called the book the "best supported indictment against Great Britain for the tyranny, arrogance and insolence that ever was written."

Walsh's best work was done on the American quarterlies of which he was editor. This work continued from 1820 to 1836 when ill health compelled him to visit Europe, leaving his publishing interests to his son. In Paris he founded a salon where he was visited by the leading statesmen

of Europe over a period of nearly 23 years. He was correspondent for six New York and Boston newspapers and magazines. During his lifetime he published seven books, edited seven national political and literary magazines, edited speeches and contributed extensively to other publications.

His political influence was tremendous and his views were sought by the great men of our country. A number of his criticisms appeared in English publications and his *Didactics, Social, Literary and Political*, 1836, were favorably reviewed by Edgar Allan Poe in *Southern Literary Messenger* (May, 1836). A critical evaluation of some of his journalistic ventures appears in the Baltimore *Portico* (May, 1817).

In 1844, having lost a part of his ample fortune, he sought and received the assignment of U. S. Consul at Paris which post he filled with satisfaction until 1851 when he resigned, but continued his work as foreign correspondent until his death on February 7, 1859, beloved by men of mark in the political, scientific and literary world. He contributed, more than any other man, to the agreeable and friendly feeling maintained by this country with France.

This is a well documented biography, representing untold research, and brings to life the picture of a wonderful personality closely affiliated with Baltimore. How it came to be written is interesting but that and more may be found in the book.

ALFRED J. O'FERRALL

Church-State Relationships in Education in Maryland. By REVEREND LEO JOSEPH MCCORMICK. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1942. xiii, 294 pp. $2.50.

The purpose of this study, as stated in the author's preface, is "to present the development of education in Maryland with a view to determining the relations between Church and State in education as they exist at present, and what they are likely to be in the future." But the chief value of the book to educators is as a work of reference.

Following a concise review of education in Maryland in colonial times (Ch. I), the main body of the work is devoted to historical sketches of private denominational institutions from the establishment of King William's School at Annapolis (1694) to the present time. There is a complete record of such schools, Catholic and Protestant, past and present: an invaluable directory for the educational administrator.

Of especial interest is the retelling (Ch. III) of the story of the Kerney Bill of 1852, the defeat of which settled once and for all the question of religious instruction in the public schools of the State, and of State aid to private institutions competing with the public schools.

Dr. McCormick's own position regarding religious instruction in all schools is unequivocally in favor of such instruction. The following paragraph from his preface makes this quite clear:

"With the rise of the state school, the religious aim in education has been almost completely eliminated. Textbooks and methods have been

purged of religious content and the child mind is formed in a system of knowledge which makes no mention of God or religion. While the educational leaders who contributed to the upbuilding of state school systems advocated that religious instruction be given in the home and in the Church, the experiment which they initiated has proven that, when religion is banished from the school, it will not be kept alive by the home and the Church. Religious indifferentism has spread rapidly."

While some of us may question the validity of a part, at least, of that statement; and many more of us may be convinced that, in view of the many forms of religious belief, instruction in religion in the public schools is not feasible; we can all gratefully accept Dr. McCormick's study as a valuable contribution to the history of education in Maryland.

ERNEST J. BECKER

For Flag and Freedom, 1812-1814. By FREDERIC ARNOLD KUMMER. New York: Morrow, 1942. Pp. 245. $2.

In this, the latest of his historical tales for young people, Mr. Kummer has built a lively story around the writing of "The Star Spangled Banner" and the events immediately preceding the Battle of North Point and the bombardment of Fort McHenry.

Accidentally meeting a mysterious red-headed stranger who inquires for a farrier, a designation unfamiliar to Prince George's County ears, young Jeff Talbot discusses the incident with his friend, Dr. Beanes, and is off on a spy hunt which leads him through various exciting adventures and materially alters the course of events in the attempted invasion of Baltimore. Of equal importance in the development of the story are Jeff's service to Dr. Beanes in carrying word of his old friend's plight to Francis Scott Key and his subsequent assistance in securing the physician's release from the British. Coincidentally Jeff is able to carry to Commodore Joshua Barney the warning which prompts him to destroy his flotilla, thus thwarting the enemy, and, as one of Aisquith's Sharpshooters, to witness the deaths of General Ross and the two boys who are believed to have shot him, Dan Wells and Harry McComas.

Slightly artificial in its beginning, the story rapidly improves as Jeff rides his white-footed mare, Exception, from one adventure to another, and reaches its climax as the boy watches the bombardment of Fort McHenry from Federal Hill, in Baltimore. A generous sprinkling of old Maryland names, Purnell, Talbot, Tunis, and real characters, such as Taney, Skinner, and Nicholson, together with rather accurate geographical detail, while perhaps slightly obvious, lends an air of reality to the yarn, which will, however, probably be lost upon readers unfamiliar with the Chesapeake Bay Country. Mr. Kummer's adherence to the old story that Key and Skinner made their trip down the Bay in the *Minden* is unfortunate in the light of present knowledge (according to Skinner himself, the cartel ship was "one of Ferguson's Norfolk packets"); but the history is generally accurate, and *For Flag and Freedom* is a good story, which

will make more vivid in the minds of youngsters one of the most stirring episodes in American history.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER

Strawberry Mansion. By SARAH DICKSON LOWRIE. Philadelphia: Committee of 1926 of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia Sesquicentennial Celebration), 1941. 224 pp. $3.

However beautiful a house may be it is but a shell built around definite personalities. Each addition and alteration is significant because it reflects the builder, the owner, the inhabitants. The author of this privately published book has fallen under the spell of the house, as any good historian should, and has told its story from its earliest days to its present old age.

Called " Somerton " at the start, the house was burned by the British in pursuit of the secretary of Congress, Charles Thompson. Rebuilt by Judge William Lewis, bought at his death by Judge Joseph Hemphill, whose family owned it and deserted it in subsequent years, it was at last bought in 1870 by a far sighted park commissioner, Eli Kirk Price, the creator of Philadelphia's great Fairmount Park. " Strawberry " was restored through the gift of Jacob Horn by Eli Kirk Price's granddaughter, Elizabeth Price Martin, one of Philadelphia's most civic minded citizens and founder of that fast sprouting organization, The Garden Club of America.

In making this history read like a story the author has sacrificed the clarity and conciseness that might make it valuable for reference. She has undoubtedly done much thorough research so it is to be regretted that so few notes on the sources of information are added. As a record, this book, and others like it are to be commended.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE

A Short History of Canada for Americans. By ALFRED LEROY BURT. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press [1942]. xvi, 179 pp. $3.

An historian endeavoring to write a " short " history encounters two main obstacles not easily overcome. In condensing his material he may fail to impart substance and become superficial; or the work may equally suffer by the author's unjustified assumption of previous knowledge on the part of the reader. In neither case will the book reach the public for which it was intended, but fortunately, Mr. Burt is not ensnared.

With ease and tact he traces the growth of Canada from her pioneer beginning to the immediate present, with an especial emphasis as his title implies, upon aspects of similarity and divergence in the parallel expansion of the United States. The glamor and intrigue of the early days; i. e., the coming of the French, the triangular relationship with Great Britain and the United States, the fur trade, and the Indian problem, in no way overshadow the worth of the latter part of the book, which might have been dull in comparison.

For those who acquired a fresh insight into American history through

James Truslow Adams' *Epic of America*, the clarity and fairness of this exceedingly timely book about our neighbor to the north, is highly recommended.

MARY G. HOWARD

General Washington's Correspondence concerning The Society of the Cincinnati. Edited by EDGAR ERSKINE HUME. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. xliv, 472 pp. $4.50.

The Society of the Cincinnati derived its name from that of the famous Roman general, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, who at country's call left his plough and his farm to lead the armies of Rome to victory and then returned to private life, refusing all public honors and rewards. The Society was instituted in May, 1783, at the cantonment of the American Army on the Hudson River and, at the first regular meeting the following June, General Washington was unanimously elected its first President General, an office which he filled from 1783 until his death in December, 1799.

The document on which the Society of the Cincinnati is based is known as the *Institution.* It sets forth the objects and principles of the Cincinnati, in effect as follows: to perpetuate the remembrance of the eight years' conflict whereby the independence of the North American colonies was achieved and to foster the mutual friendships formed during that period; to preserve inviolate the liberties for which they fought and bled; to promote and cherish the union between the States; to render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers, for "this spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things and, particularly, extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence toward those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it."

Lieutenant-Colonel Hume has shown that Washington's conduct of the duties appertaining to his leadership in the Society of the Cincinnati was far from perfunctory. This fact is plainly revealed by the extent of the correspondence which the editor has gathered from various sources and which he has arranged in chronological order, with footnotes to connect a letter and its reply. Here and there, an introductory paragraph gives the background of some of the letters. Earlier compilations of Washington's letters and other writings, as the editor says, embrace only what Washington himself wrote. But, in this book, the other half of his correspondence, so far as it concerned the Society of the Cincinnati, is revealed; thus providing material never published hitherto.

In a Supplement, embracing pages 403 to 460, the editor supplies biographical sketches of more than one hundred persons with whom General Washington corresponded concerning the Cincinnati, about fifty per cent. of them being citizens of France. As for Marylanders mentioned in this book, we note the names of Gov. William Paca, Thomas Stone the Signer, Major-Gen. William Smallwood, Brig.-Gen. Otho Holland Williams, Brig.-Gen. Mordecai Gist, Lieut.-Col. Nathaniel Ramsay, Lieut.-Col. Tench Tilghman, *et al.* An excellent index enhances the value of Colonel Hume's noteworthy compilation.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

History and Its Neighbors. By EDWIN MASLIN HULME. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1942. 197 pp. $2.

Historiography and Urbanization: Essays in American History in Honor of W. Stull Holt. Edited by ERIC F. GOLDMAN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. 220 pp. $2.50.

Colonel William Fleming on the Virginia Frontier, 1755-1788. By WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR. (Dissertation, Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1942. 210 pp.

The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland. Baltimore: Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Maryland, 1942. 32 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

MARYLANDERS AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE BEFORE 1776

An article on "Colonial Americans in Oxford and Cambridge," prepared by Mr. Willard Connely, appeared in the issues of the *American Oxonian*, published by the American Association of Rhodes Scholars, for January and April, 1942. From the records of the two universities a complete list of all entrants from English America during the colonial period has been compiled. Between 1735 and 1768 Maryland sent 5 students to Oxford and 6 to Cambridge. This compares with 34 from Virginia, 21 from South Carolina, 17 from Massachusetts and 15 from all other colonies. During the colonial period there were 98 students from America. The names of Maryland students and of their fathers, places of residence, the colleges attended and dates of matriculation, as shown by Mr. Connely, are given below. For directing attention to this study the Magazine is indebted to Judge Emory H. Niles, and for permission to publish the following list of Marylanders to Dr. Crane Brinton, editor of the *Oxonian*, and to Mr. Connely.

Oxford

Henry Addison, son of Thomas	Maryland	Queen's Coll.	Mar. 1735
John Eversfield, son of John	Maryland	Merton Coll.	Mar. 1754
Thos. Richardson, son of Anthony	Talbot Co.	University Coll.	Oct. 1759
John Hammond, son of Philip	Severnhead, Anne Arundel Co.	Oriel Coll.	Jan. 1758
James Jones Wilmer, son of Michael	Kent Co.	Christ Church Coll.	Mar. 1768

Cambridge

Daniel Dulany, son of Daniel	Annapolis	Clare Coll.	1739
Charles Carroll, son of Charles	Annapolis	Caius Coll.	Jan. 1742
Philip Thomas Lee, son of Richard	Blenheim, Charles Co.	Christ's Coll.	Jan. 1757
John Brice, son of John	Annapolis	Clare Coll.	Nov. 1757
Lloyd Dulany, son of Daniel	Annapolis	Clare Coll.	Jan. 1760
Alexander Lawson, son of Alexander	Baltimore	Clare Coll.	Jan. 1760

Six of these men were also among the Marylanders who received their education in the law at the Inns of Court, London, as listed recently by Mr. Joseph T. Wheeler in these pages. See Vol. XXXVI, page 282 (Sept. 1941).

Augustine Herrman is the subject of a short paper by Dieter Cunz of Baltimore in *Tyler's Quarterly* for July, 1942. Dr. Cunz considers the conflicting reports of the place and date of Herrman's birth and concludes that he was born in Prague in 1621. In the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for April last the same writer has an article concerning John Lederer, the explorer, who applied for naturalization in Maryland in the year 1671 and received about the same time a patent to trade with the Indians beyond the bounds of the Colony from Governor Charles Calvert.

Stansbury—Who were the parents of Daniel Stansbury, born in Baltimore county, May, 1808; died Oct. 28, 1860, in Wisconsin? He married Gertrude Roberts Millemon, Nov. 20, 1828, and became a minister of the Methodist church about 1829. Baltimore directories list him as a boot and shoe maker from 1840 until he moved to Wisconsin in 1849, where he continued his work as a Methodist minister until his death. Four of his sisters are known: Elizabeth and Rebecca, twins, born about 1786; Matilda, born 1791; and Lucretia. Elizabeth married a Stansbury, given name and date of marriage unknown, and had one son, Samuel, born 1807. Rebecca married August Jacob Buckmiller, July 31, 1821, and had Ann Rebecca, who died in infancy; Matilda, married Thomas Harrington, Oct. 3, 1816, and had several children, including Hester Ann, Evaline, and Joshua S., mentioned in their father's will, the others probably dying before his death in Oct., 1842; Lucretia, married William Arlow, Aug. 22, 1820 and had Andrew, Susannah, Julian, William and John.

NORMAN BENTLEY GARDINER,
821 Park Ave., Baltimore

Warfield: A Correction—The Warfields of Maryland, by Joshua Dorsey Warfield, published in 1898, contains the following statement on page 23:

"Azel, fifth son of Seth and Mary (Gaither) Warfield, settled south of the National Pike and opposite his brother, Elie. He married Elizabeth Welling, daughter of Major Welling of Clarksville. Their issue were: Richard, Azel, Henry, William, Charles A., Edmund, George W., Elizabeth, Mary, Eliza, Matilda, Sarah, and Ann. William married Miss Lishear: Issue—John, Henry Welling, William W., and Noah."

The inference that William of Azel and Elizabeth (Welling) Warfield married a Miss Lishear is inaccurate, as is proved by the following facts:

(1) Azel, of Seth and Mary (Gaither) Warfield, died in 1822. His estate was divided among his widow, Elizabeth (Welling) Warfield, and

their issue: " Richard, Azel, Elizabeth, William W., Mary, Matilda, Henry, Eliza, Sarah, Ann, George, and Charles." SOURCE—Anne Arundel County, Administration Docket, J. G., 1820-1872, pages 10 and 344.

(2) William W., of Azel and Elizabeth (Welling) Warfield, was married to Elizabeth Beckley in December, 1819, by Reverend Hood. He died in April 1855. His estate was divided among his children, who at the time of his death were as follows: Azel, whose wife was Elizabeth; Agnes, whose husband was John W. Mercer; William W., whose wife was Johanna (elsewhere given as Joanna); John, whose wife was Elizabeth; Elizabeth, whose husband was John Fisher (also given as Joshua Fisher); Henry, a bachelor; Noah, a minor; Marcella, whose husband was Alexander Lishear (also given as Joseph A. Lishear); Amanda, a minor; Louise, a minor, also given as Louisa.) SOURCES—(A) Card index of Marriage Licenses in Baltimore City Court House (as of December 1938); and (B) Equity Record, WHW, #3/275, Howard Co.

(3) William W., Junior, of William W. and Elizabeth (Beckley) Warfield, married Joanna E. Leisher in March, 1856. SOURCE—Marriage Licenses, Howard County, March 25, 1856.

The above documentary evidence is fully supported by family records. The statement in *The Warfields of Maryland*, should be rewritten as follows:

" Azel, fifth son of Seth and Mary (Gaither) Warfield, settled south of the National Pike and opposite his brother, Elie. He married Elizabeth Welling, daughter of Major Henry Welling of Clarksville. He died in August, 1822. Their issue were: Richard, Henry, Azel, William W., Charles A., Edmund, George W., Elizabeth, Mary, Eliza, Matilda, Sarah, and Ann. William W., of Azel and Elizabeth (Welling) Warfield, was married to Elizabeth Beckley, daughter of John Beckley, by Reverend Hood in December 1819. He died in April 1855. Their issue were: Azel, Agnes, William W. (Junior), John, Elizabeth, Henry, Noah, Marcella, Amanda, and Louise. William W. (Junior), of William W. and Elizabeth (Beckley) Warfield, in March 1856 married Joanna E. Leisher."

The writer is not a descendant of William W. (Junior) and Joanna (Leisher) Warfield, but is a great-grandson of Azel, the elder brother of William W. Warfield, Junior. This Azel, of William W. and Elizabeth (Beckley) Warfield, in January, 1845, married Eliza Shipley, daughter of Nathan Shipley, sheriff of Howard County.

CALVIN NORWOOD WARFIELD,
" Cedar Beach," Dunnsville P. O., Va.

Ogle—Thomas Ogle Clark, writing in the *Baltimore Sun* of Jan. 1, 1905, refers to Thomas Ogle of Delaware, brother of Governor Samuel Ogle. He referred to Dr. Howard Ogle, Miss Virginia Ogle and Miss Julia Ogle of Wilmington, Del.; Mrs. Maxwell Ocheltrees of Chester, Pa., and his mother, Mrs. Stephen J. Clark of Baltimore, as descendants of Thomas Ogle. Would like proof of the relationship of Governor Ogle

and Thomas of Delaware. Would like to correspond with any of the above or their descendants.

FRANCIS CHARLES HIBBARD,
Box 174, Barnesville, Ohio

Hughes—Can anyone tell me who were the parents of Samuel Hughes, born around 1689, lived in Baltimore County near Deer Creek now Harford County in 1730, whose will is found in Will Book 3, folio 185, Court House, Baltimore, Md., probated Feb. 11, 1771? He married Hannah Jane Watkins Nov. 4, 1714. Their children were Margaret, John, Jane, Sarah and Mary. It is believed that Jonathan, William and Sarah were his brothers and sister. Possibly this family emigrated from Massachusetts or came up from the lower Bay counties to settle along the Susquehanna River or Chesapeake Bay where Baltimore County was established.

Can anyone tell me when this family came to America?

JOSEPH LEE HUGHES,
20 E. Washington St.,
Fleetwood, Pa.

Richardson—Information is wanted concerning William Richardson who in 1850 executed a lease in Baltimore County to John W. Reese.

LYNWOOD THOMS,
Jackson, Louisiana.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

MR. and MRS. WILLIAM R. QUYNN, who conducted the study of the Barbara Frietschie legend with results printed herein, are identified with Duke University, the former having been assistant professor of romance languages and the latter assistant professor of history. ☆ HENRY D. HARLAN, as all Marylanders know, was formerly chief judge of the Baltimore Supreme Bench, and served as such for 26 years. He is now in his 84th year. At the time of his appointment to this position he had just reached his thirtieth birthday (minimum age under the constitution) and was consequently the youngest man ever to serve in this capacity. ☆ The paper on the War of 1812 by RALPH ROBINSON, member of the Baltimore bar, has been drawn from a biography of General William H. Winder, which he is preparing from the Winder papers owned by the Johns Hopkins University. ☆ JOSEPH T. WHEELER, whose series of articles on literary culture in colonial Maryland is now drawing to a close, has recently assumed new duties as administrative assistant at the New York Public Library. ☆ EMERSON B. ROBERTS, who from time to time sends articles on genealogical topics to the Magazine from his home near Pittsburgh, is a member of the industrial relations staff of the Westinghouse Company. He is a native of the Eastern Shore.